The German Tribune

A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Hamburg, 10 June 1971
Tenth Year - No. 478 - By air

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Superpower troop reduction proposals reactivated



From time to time latent topics come to the fore in world affairs. This year it is security's turn, a subject viewed differently by the two world powers and their European allies but once more enlivening the business of diplomacy.

Following the Reykjavik decision by the North Atlantic Council in early summer 1968 to offer to negotiate with the Warsaw Pact on a mutual, balanced reduction of forces in Europe the security situation was altered on 21 August 1968 by the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia.

The Brezhnev Doctrine of limited sovereignty for member-countries of the socialist community was proclaimed. Unmistakeable danger signals were beamed at *Washington* and Brussels that summer from *Rumania and Yugoslavia*.

As long as Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia continued the reactions of Nato countries to the changed situation in Central Europe delayed the initiation of diplomatic discussions.

The second signal given by the North Atlantic pact was the MFBR package offered the Warsaw Pact and European neutrals at the Rome conference of spring 1970.

This offer of mutual balanced reductions of forces and weapons systems in Central Europe, or rather the offer to discuss the idea, first gave rise to hesitant, vague and non-committal responses on the part of the Warsaw Pact.

Now a Soviet counter-signal has been sounded and it is being taken seriously among political leaders of the Atlantic alliance.

Interpretation of Soviet motives is strictly speculative but certain pointers from Moscow indicate that Mr Brezhnev's words in Tiflis and Mr Kosygin's comments to Canadian Premier Pierre Trudeau in the Soviet capital are not without interest.

Both the Soviet politbureau and Party and government leaders of Warsaw Pact countries are said to have engaged in intensive discussion of the Nato MBFR offer and American interest in mutual reductions in troop strength.

Russia's Eastern European allies, well-informed sources claim, are keen on negotiations.

Last December the Soviet Union seriously considered military intervention in Poland in order to quash demonstrations in the Baltic ports. Developments in Poland were followed distrustfully and with intervention in mind.

This state of affairs is said to upset the Polish, Rumanian, Hungarian and Czech Party leaders.

On the other hand the major debate in Moscow on *policy towards the satellites* and Europe in general, a debate that came to an initial close with the invasion of Czechoslovakia in summer 1968, appears to have recommenced.

Assuming this assessment is accurate one can but wonder what Mr Brezhnev, at the height of his power, really wants to negotiate with Nato when he talks about mutual reductions of "foreign troops", forces stationed abroad, that is, in both parts of Europe.

A partial withdrawal of US troops from this country just cannot be offset by Soviet withdrawals. The balance of power of forces in being, reserves and mobilisation capacity, assembly terrain and transport facilities, not to mention military potential in Western Europe, make this impossible.

The geostrategic position of both powers in relation to Europe, characterised as it is by an irrevocable lack of symmetry, cannot be offset.

The definition of national security interest and alliance function in Moscow and Washington cannot be reconciled. For historical, geographic and political reasons Moscow's interest in a position of military power in Europe is incomparably greater than Washington's ever has or can be.

Can it be that the Russians have for the past year realised after all that they need no longer expect the Americans to pull out of Europe unilaterally and without counter-concessions?

Extreme caution is called for on this point, particularly when it is borne in mind that only a year ago the Pentagon was considering halving the strength of the US Sixth Fleet, including carriers, *in view of* increases of Soviet naval units in the Mediterranean and increased arms deliveries to Egypt.

The North Atlantic Council must stand by its offer and all industrial countries share a common interest in maintaining the balance of power in terms of military security at the lowest possible cost, reducing the risk of military confrontation and cutting power confrontation with the aid of defence alliances and arms control systems.

At the same time no one need harbour hopes of security becoming an inexpensive business over the next few years or the abandonment of defence preparedness becoming a possibility.

This, indeed, is the most serious of all security problems facing the Atlantic alliance and Western society. The countries concerned would only too willingly cut arms expenditure, reduce troop strength and axe alliance commitments – even at the price of a cut in security.

On this score they can certainly count on Moscow giving the go-ahead.

Lothar Ruehl
(DIE WELT, 29 May 1971)

IN THIS ISSUE



Nato conference

Defence experts from eight Nato countries met in Mittenwald to discuss nuclear defence problems. Chancellor Willy Brandt chaired the meeting. Present were General Steinhoff (dark glasses on the left), M. Tanassi from Italy, Manlio Brosslo, W. den Toon, Lord Carrington, General Andrew Goodpaster, Chancellor Willy Brandt, Helmut Schmidt, D. S. Macdonald from Canada and the American Secretary for Defence *Melvin Laird.* (Photo: dpa)

Gustav Husak stays at a price

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Prior to the Czech Party congress the prospects of Gustav Husak, Mr Dubcek's successor as Party leader, were rated poor. Rumour had it that he was to be ousted politically and booted upstairs to replace aged President Svoboda.

Rumours to this effect have been proved mistaken. Dr Husak has even assumed the title of General Secretary, like his Soviet protector, Leonid Brezhnev, and been unanimously re-elected.

The Czech Party leader, and with him the Congress, again expressly thanked Moscow for invading the country in 1968. Foreign guests who intended calling a spade a spade, the Italian Communists, for instance, were not allowed to speak and reiterated their own viewpoint on returning home.

Reintegration of Czechoslovakia in the Eastern Bloc has now been completed. There is no longer even a mention of Soviet troops being withdrawn.

The Russophiles of old, Bilak, Indra and Svestka, hold high office even though they may not rank as highly as the surviving reformers, Husak, Svoboda and Strougal.

As for the remainder of the Central Committee, the majority, it consists of new members compromised neither during the reform period nor under Novotny but lacking in authority.

This time Gustav Husak did not make a point of keeping his distance from both reformers and Stalinists but he continued to keep it. Expulsions from the Party in the course of last year, including that of Antonin Novotny, were approved en bloc.

This country was again called on to acknowledge the invalidity of the 1938 Munich Agreement from the word go. Husak did not even mention Bonn's half-way alternative proposals.

Does Prague propose to allow Moscow and Warsaw to rule the roost in coming to terms with their German neighbour? Maybe this too is part of the price Husak is having to pay for Brezhnev's support.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 June 1971)

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Trend to three-power political setup is not a happy one

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

President Nixon is increasingly proving to be the corrector-general of America's view of world affairs. In this sector his reforming activities exceed those of most of his predecessors.

In a number of spheres Mr Nixon has not only set a new tone in US foreign policy (something every new President does), he has inaugurated a 180-degree turn, a complete volte-face.

This is most noticeable in Vietnam, where he has about-phased from escalation to de-escalation and is in the process of extricating America from an involvement that has grown pointless by means of withdrawal.

Slowly but surely the Republican President has embarked on a complete change in another sector that may prove to be even more significant in world affairs. His declared aim is to normalise America's relations with Communist China.

This amounts to a reversal of his predecessors' policy, which in the long run represented a pointless attempt to put — of all countries — the most populous in the world in quarantine.

The President's strongly developed sense of political reality led him to realise immediately on assuming office that relations between Washington and Peking must be established on a fresh basis.

It has now come to light that Mr Nixon called on his adviser on security matters, Henry A. Kissinger, to investigate every possibility of improving relations with China in a memorandum dated February 1969.

Peking's present, positive response to intentions the President has harboured for so long is doubtless due to Mr Nixon's Vietnam policy The upshot is a truly paradoxical state of affairs.

China, Uncle Sam's mistrustful protagonist, evidently believes that the President seriously intends to pull out of Vietnam, whereas a large section of US public opinion continues to doubt its veracity, as the demostrations by anti-war groups in Washington have shown.

It will, of course, take some time before Washington can put into practice its new aim of establishing normal relations with mainland China. A large number of political and psychological obstacles must be cleared away before diplomatic relations are established and China enters the United Nations.

Not the least important of these stumbling-blocks is America's protectorate over Nationalist China. But the period during which China was more or less excluded from world affairs by the two superpowers is unquestionably drawing to a close.

The Washington-Moscow axis will, in the foreseeable future, be replaced by a triangular relationship between Peking, Washington and Moscow. What will be the significance of this new constellation for world affairs in general and peace in particular?

The relatively straightforward concept of a balance of power plus deterrent as a means of safeguarding the peace will no longer be applicable since a balance between three sides cannot be struck.

If all three powers are equally strong two of them can at any given moment combine to double the strength of the *third*.

If one of the three becomes so powerful as to be able to cross swords with both the others if need be the balance can easily be ended. All that is needed is for the weaker of the other two to join forces with the predominant power.

In comparison with the tug-of-war between two superpowers, the situation so far, the forthcoming three-sided relationship is unquestionably a precarious basis for keeping the peace.

The mechanical element of security, measurable in terms of megatons, no longer applies. Peace will be all the more dependent on political calculations.

For each of the three superpowers the nightmare possibility will be that of the two others joining forces. Forestalling this development will be the categorical imperative of the superpowers' foreign policy.

This foremost aim could turn out to be a fundamentally stabilising factor since each superpower would have to ensure that confrontation with one of the other two did not reach the stage where it was compelled to join forces with the third.

The third power could best forestall an entente between the first two by means of entertaining the closest and most cordial relations with its tw[...] Coexistence with a built-in [...] ensuring neither extreme ten[...] extreme cordiality could ensue.

Even so there would remain th[...] tation of using an improvement [...] tions with the one as a means of [...] pressure to bear on the other [...] little-noticed television statem[...] President Nixon last July pointed [...]

The President expressed [...] appointment at the Soviet Union [...] so recalcitrant regardless of the [...] overall situation. Thinking alo[...] continued: "A possible counter[...] would be to normalise relations [...] neighbouring opponent."

At the end of April the P[...] outlined an altogether different [...] He talked in terms of the Unit[...] aiming at good relations with [...] Soviet Union and China and [...] relations between Moscow and [...] also being in the interest of wo[...]

For the time being this can, o[...] only be wishful thinking. In real[...] take some time before a t[...] superpowers develops into a th[...] ed star of peace.

Fritz von [...]

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 25 [...])

Sadat's axe and Moscow

Moscow has yet to react openly to the changes in Egypt, including the ousting of a number of particularly pro-Soviet Ministers and officials.

Publicists in other socialist countries have, in comparison, left little doubt as to the dissatisfaction with which developments in Egypt are viewed in the Eastern Bloc.

As a great power involved in the Middle East both politically and militarily the Soviet Union was unable to wear its heart on its sleeve even though its anxiety must have been far more intense than that of its allies.

The Kremlin has not been inactive, though. President Podgorny has visited Egypt, paying Cairo what in terms of protocol was termed a non-official friendship visit.

This terminology indicates two [...] first that the visit was arranged [...] notice (which is not to say who [...] inviting) and second that the po[...] circumstance was dispensed with [...] to extend the possibility of com[...]

Podgorny and Sadat, who [...] braced one another at the offici[...] of the Aswan Dam in January, [...] time — according to a Soviet [...] muniqué — not only as heads of sta[...] also as members of their res[...] politbureaus and Party chairman.

This is not insignificant when on[...] in mind that the Soviet Union [...] primarily fear an upset of its Mi[...] system of political and military [...] but rather a change in the polit[...] ideological substructure that could [...] potential Soviet influence on [...] towards a peace settlement.

Moscow has spent much time [...] energy on forging a communist party [...] of the Arab Socialist Union, Egypt's [...] political party. Preliminary work [...] carried out by Soviet Central Comm[...] Secretary Ponomarev last December [...] continued by the ousted Ali Sabry, [...] visited Moscow almost immediately [...] wards.

President Sadat would now se[...] have crushed this ideological bridge [...] He finds governmental ties with M[...] ample.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 25 May [...])

Moscow shows unexpected interest in progress of Salt talks

The latest US-Soviet agreement to continue the Salt talks with the inclusion of strategic offensive weapons has so far been played in a minor propaganda key in Moscow.

It would be wrong to conclude that the Soviet Union is not particularly interested in the talks. There are no signs of differences of opinion among the Soviet leaders or misgivings on the part of the military either.

Basically the publicity treatment Moscow is giving the topic is the same as that accorded to all major negotiations that take time and the outcome of which is uncertain.

Reports are as cursory as those issued during the preparatory stage prior to last year's treaty between Moscow and Bonn. Serious negotiations have always been given laconic treatment by the Kremlin.

There are also a number of optical considerations that make the Soviet leadership feel it opportune to play the talks down.

Moscow does not like to lay itself open to allegations by both friends and enemies that agreement between itself and Washington is more apparent on a number of topics than propaganda exchanges would lead the superficial observer to suspect.

In situations in which, for a number of reasons, full-scale commentaries appear inopportune Moscow occasionally resorts to reviews of foreign publications as a means of indirectly indicating its own point of view by means of quoting the work under review.

International Affairs, an important foreign policy journal, recently contained reviews of books by Averell Harriman and physicist Ralph Lapp, both of whom dealt in detail with the Salt talks. The reviews left one in little doubt as to which opinions met with Soviet approval.

In a nutshell the upshot is that the Salt talks are the most important negotiations ever conducted between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Soviet readiness to include strategic offensive weapons among the topics for discussion, something the United States has long desired, is obviously motivated by developments in the United States.

From the Soviet point of view three factors are involved: —

1. Technical preparations for the deployment of cassette warheads, new submarine missiles, long-range bombers and anti-missile systems have made such progress that the Nixon administration will soon have to reach a decision.

2. Resistance to efforts to stem the tide of the arms race on the part of the military and the armaments industry is on the increase.

3. Scientists, particularly physicists, not to mention a large section of American public opinion, are opposed to a new and even more expensive stage of the arms race and their number is on the increase.

This state of affairs has evidently decided Moscow to embark on a fresh attempt to aid the process of polarisation of opinion in the United States, the Soviet Union's own interest always remaining pre-eminent, of course.

The arms policy debate was obviously concluded in Moscow prior to the Party Congress. How else could the decision have been taken to plough so much money into civil projects, particularly agriculture?

In five years 129,000 million roubles are to be invested in civil projects, very little less than the sum total of similar investments from 1918 to 1969.

What is more, Leonid Brezhnev mentioned in his report the possibility of employing larger sections of the arms industry on civil projects should the international situation make this appear justifiable.

Heinz Lathe

(Kieler Nachrichten, 26 May 1971)

The German Tribu[...]

Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor[...] Eberhard Wagner. Assistant Editor[...] Otto Heinz. Editor: Alexander Anth[...] lish language sub-editor: Geoffrey P[...] Distribution Manager: Georgine von P[...]

Friedrich Reinecke Verlag GmbH, 23 Sc[...] Aussicht, Hamburg 76. Tel.: 220 12 [...] 02 14733. Bonn bureau: Konrad Kad[...] 66 Adenauerallee, 53 Bonn. Tel.: 22 [...] lex: 08 86398.

Advertising rates list No. 8 — Annual subscription DM 25.

Printed by Krögers Buch- und Verlag[...] rei, Hamburg-Blankenese. Distributed [...] USA by: MASS MAILINGS, Inc. 540 West [...] Street, New York, N.Y. 10011.

All articles which THE GERMAN TRI[...] reprint are published in cooperation wi[...] editorial staffs of leading newspapers of [...] Federal Republic of Germany. They are c[...] plete translations of the original text, i[...] way abridged nor editorially redrafted.

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■ POLITICS

Free Democrats have no reason for joy or sorrow

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Taking stock of their position after the nine Provincial Assembly elections held since 1969, Free Democrats will find little reason for self-contentment, though equally little reason for moral resignation.

Compared with the Bundestag election, the FDP has been able to maintain its position in Provincial Assembly elections held in 1970 and 1971. Gains and losses are almost balanced in the nine Federal states.

On the whole, it can be said that the party's decision to form a coalition with the Social Democrats in the autumn of 1969 has had no positive or adverse effects on its fortunes.

The picture changes however when the FDP's showing in the current round of provincial elections is compared with the figures four years ago — and it is this yardstick that has always proved decisive in the past.

Comparing the results of two consecutive provincial elections, it will be found that the FDP had made considerable losses in six Federal states and a modest gain in three.

These figures and these figures alone reveal what effects the FDP's swing to the left — which began long before the Bundestag election — has had on the party's usual voters.

This trend will not be changed much by the two elections still to be held in Bremen and Baden-Württemberg where the FDP is relatively strong.

Walter Scheel's optimism is proverbial. But there seems little justification for a forecast he made at the recent congress of the Hesse FDP in Michelstadt. Walter Scheel, the party's Federal chairman, stated that the Free Democrats should get around ten per cent of the votes and not just three to five per cent.

Drawing up the party's political balance after the nine provincial elections cannot be restricted to the bare figures alone.

On the negative side of the balance it must be noted that the FDP is no longer represented in the Provincial Assemblies of Lower Saxony, the Saar and Schleswig-Holstein. In all three branches of the party there were or still are serious internal clashes on the FDP's future course.

There was also controversy within the Bavarian branch of the party though it did return to the Provincial Assembly there after four years in the wilderness.

This was due to the "miracle of Central Franconia" where the party gained 12.4 per cent of the votes thus scaling the ten per cent qualification hurdle in the Federal state.

In Lower Saxony many of the more conservative FDP members have left the party, led by the former deputy chairman Homeier who joined the National Liberal Action.

On the other hand the local party has now split with the Young Democrats, the party's youth organisation. The local party's congress in Hamelin broke all links with the youth organisation which it claimed had been infiltrated by Marxist-Leninists. Socialists had no place in the FDP, it added.

Infighting brought the FDP to the brink of ruin in the Saar as well. The whole of the local party executive there resigned after the overwhelming defeat in the provincial election.

But things have calmed down a bit since the local party congress held at the end of last November. The new party chairman Klumpp is considered to be a man of the middle in the tradition of Swabian liberals. But the Saar branch of the party is still pursuing a left-of-centre course.

In Schleswig-Holstein promises to join in a coalition with the Social Democrats practically led to a split in the party. Almost all Free Democrats belonging to the state government or sitting in the Kiel Provincial Assembly resigned from the party before the elections or were expelled.

The old liberals, especially the Federal state's rural population, turned their back on the party as policy seemed to be determined more and more by Young Democrats living on the outskirts of Hamburg.

Position of the FDP after nine provincial elections					
	Provincial Elections 1970/71	Bundestag Election 1969	Last Provincial Election	Swing from Bundestag Election	Swing from Last Provincial Election
Hamburg	7.1 %	6.3 %	6.8 %	+0.8	+0.3
Lower Saxony	4.4 %	5.6 %	6.9 %	−1.2	−2.5
North Rhine-Westphalia	5.5 %	5.4 %	7.4 %	+0.1	−1.9
Saar	4.4 %	6.7 %	8.3 %	−2.3	−3.9
Hesse	10.1 %	6.7 %	10.4 %	+3.4	−0.3
Bavaria	5.5 %	4.1 %	5.1 %	+1.4	+0.4
Berlin	8.4 %	–	7.1 %	–	+1.3
Rhineland Palatinate	5.9 %	6.3 %	8.3 %	−0.4	−2.4
Schleswig-Holstein	3.8 %	5.2 %	5.9 %	−1.4	−2.1

The FDP suffered its worst defeat in Schleswig-Holstein the the election held there on 25 April this year but its effects cannot yet be gauged.

Despite its success in the provincial elections, the Bavarian branch of the FDP is not free from internal controversy.

Former Bavarian chairman Dietrich Bahner was voted out of his post before the election and now plays a leading role in the National Liberal Action, though without being able to move notable sections of the party to follow him.

But the actual controversy within the party is yet to begin. The bone of contention is the FDP's position on worker participation and private accumulation of capital wealth.

The 1969 local party congress in Augsburg broke up over the question of worker participation in company policies. The same fate threatened the congress held in Nuremberg in March 1971 where Minister of Agriculture Josef Ertl was elected Bavarian chairman with a huge majority over Georg Lenz, the left-wing candidate.

This congress postponed the decision on worker participation to a special party congress that was planned for the beginning of May but then put back to September.

There has been a swing to the left in Berlin since the recent party congress there. Left-wing party members take up all the positions on the local executive that is obviously controlled by Young Democrats who are accused by many Free Democrats in the city of being infected by Marxism. None of the Free Democrats sitting in Berlin's House of Deputies is represented on the new executive.

The North Rhine-Westphalian branch under Willi Weyer met with a crisis after the provincial elections in that Federal state. Discontented members there set up National Liberal Action. Three deputies in the Provincial Assembly left the FDP and endangered the existence of Heinz Kühn's SPD-FDP coalition. Now that the National Liberal wing has left, the local party is pursuing a left-of-centre course.

In the Rhineland Palatinate where the FDP has a more conservative face the

Continued on page 4

Young Free Democrats demand new party programme

"Instead of being the party of ownership, that is the party of the proprietors of the means of production, the FDP must once again become the party pressing *for the freedom of the largest* possible number of people," Young Democrats demanded at the recent congress in Leverkusen.

They demanded a new FDP which they could help to organise and they refused to be tied down to unconditional support of offical Free Democrat policy.

The Young Democrats are lagging about two years behind the Young Socialists. The Young Socialists have already passed the stage of organising (spectacular) apprentices' congresses and (successful) debates on local affairs.

The Young Democrats have only just discovered the need for a progressive policy centred around reality. They now intend to draw up an overall plan for the social services and local government policy, work out a way to nationalise land and draft an apprentices' manifesto.

These future plans are being made by an organisation whose own position is not yet fixed. In a new draft manifesto the Young Democrats now want to try to reduce liberalism and socialism to a common denominator and thus remain progressive. The one particular difficulty is how to preserve their own liberal identity.

The Young Democrats are eager to expand their "two-way strategy" to all non-established organisations and yet they are forced to consider what Young Democrat leader Heinz Bremer called their fatal dependence on the FDP.

If they were to break with the FDP they would sink into the insignificance of basis groups. Former treasurer Buschkat stated, "If we lose the thirty thousand Marks subsidy from the FDP, we might just as well pack our bags."

The knowledge of this dependence on the FDP was the only source of controversy at the Leverkusen congress. The path towards forging an identity of its own is long and difficult. At present it seems as if the internal situation within the FDP has spread to the Young Democrats.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 24 May 1971)

Karl-Hermann Flach accepts appointment of FDP secretary-general

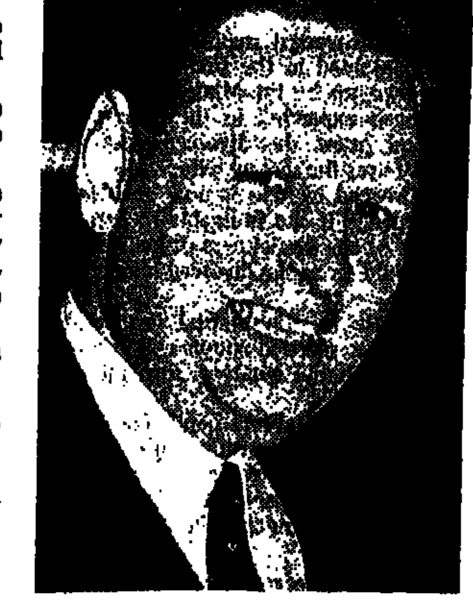
Karl-Hermann Flach, deputy editor-in-chief of the *Frankfurter Rundschau* stated in Bonn that he is prepared to accept the new post of Secretary-General of the Free Democratic Party.

Flach will put himself forward for the position at the next FDP congress to be held in Freiburg at the end of October.

The new post was set up at the instigation of party chairman Walter Scheel who also proposed that the party executive should ask 41-year-old Karl-Hermann Flach whether he would be ready to take over the job.

On 24 May Walter Scheel and his deputy Hans-Dietrich Genscher discussed the matter with Karl Gerold, the publisher and editor-in-chief of the *Frankfurter Rundschau*, and Flach at a meeting in the Foreign Office.

An FDP communique issued on the same afternoon reported, "After a long intensive conservation dealing in detail with political problems Herr Gerold stated that he agreed to release Karl-Hermann Flach from his obligations as editor."



Flach will only take over the post if the FDP congress confirms his appointment. At first he will be offered a two-year contract. Free Democrat leaders see nothing standing in the way of his election.

Flach, born in 1929, comes from Königsberg in East Prussia, was in Mecklenburg when the Second World War ended and became a journalist in Schwerin where he joined the *Norddeutsche Zeitung*, the main organ of the Liberal Democratic Party.

In 1949 he fled to West Berlin, studied politics at the Otto Suhr Institute and worked as a journalist in Bonn from 1954 onwards.

From 1956 to 1959 Flach was deputy spokesman of the FDP in Bonn, from 1958 to 1959 head of the party's political department and from 1959 to 1962 business manager.

(DIE WELT, 25 May 1971)

(Photo: dpa)



■ HOME AFFAIRS

10-year-old Amnesty has largest national membership

Are we living in a second age of enlightenment or in the midst of a new barbaric era? Our century provides examples supporting both views. Social awareness and extraordinary archaic brutality characterise the times in which we live.

The world's conscience had only just recovered from the millions of victims who suffered under Hitler when approximate figures first became known for the unparallelled bloodletting following the Communist revolution in Russia, especially under Stalinism.

But even today in East and West and on nearly all continents untold numbers of people are persecuted and emprisoned. Their only crime is that they are of a different political or religious conviction or that their skin is of a different colour.

The list of countries suspected of keeping prisoners of this type is long, stretching from China to South Africa, Eastern Europe to South America and from Greece to Indonesia.

A new factor is that now the normally powerless protest of all well-meaning persons against dictatorial acts by State has been organised internationally for the first time in history into a neutral, private body that is now celebrating its tenth anniversary.

In 1961 Peter Benenson, a British lawyer who had defended political prisoners before the courts of many countries, set up a bureau to collect and publish information on political prisoners and try to help them.

Within a month more than one thousand people had turned up to support his scheme. Soon afterwards representatives of five countries set up a world-wide charity organisation called Amnesty International.

Amnesty International now has branches in 28 countries. Some thirty thousand members are concerned with the fate of 2,050 prisoners in about sixty countries.

The United Nations and the European Council has granted the organisation consultative status. Among its patrons are internationally famous people such as Yehudi Menuhin, Pablo Casals, Pablo Neruda, Salvador de Madriaga, Nobel Prize winners, high clergy and representatives of international organisations.

Among its backers in the Federal Republic are Alexander Mitscherlich, Niemöller, Provost Gruber, Erik Blumenfeld and Hilda Heinemann, the President's wife.

Since recently this country's branch has had the highest membership of all national branches, forcing the Swedish and British sections into second and third place.

The West German branch was set up in Cologne in 1961 and soon spread throughout the whole of the Federal Republic. It now consists of some 350 groups of six to ten active members. Its headquarters in Hamburg provide the groups with the information they need. Amnesty International's lines of communication are excellent.

The groups were recently reorganised into 35 districts each surrounding a large city, replacing the nine regions into which they were previously organised.

Dirk Börner of Hamburg is the new senior spokesman of the organisation. Börner, 37, the head of firm of haulage contractors, has been an Amnesty member for six years. Before his election he was deputy spokesman and went on numerous foreign missions for the organisation.

Six hundred delegates from the Federal Republic and many foreign members attended the recent conference.

A resolution calling for an extension of the international statutes to cover prisoners who had used or advocated violence was rejected.

As in the past, only prisoners of conscience will be adopted. The only exception made to this condition will be for prisoners who are being tortured or have been sentenced to death.

The groups never tire of trying to find ways to achieve the release of their prisoners or at least make the conditions of their imprisonment better.

Written appeals are sent to governments, embassies, legal authorities and prominent people living in the countries involved.

The prisoners themselves are given as much help as possible through letters, parcels and the taking over of defence costs. The group often takes care of the prisoner's family as well as he is often the only breadwinner.

The group itself must raise the necessary money and, on top of this, send an annual sum of 300 Marks to the Hamburg headquarters.

With the help of donations the headquarters then sends at least 400 Marks per group to London to help finance the organisation's secretariat. In 1970 membership fees totalled 74,000 Marks and 200,000 Marks were sent to London.

Amnesty's work depends on donations though there has been no shortage of funds up to now. Siegfried Lenz for instance gave the organisation the three thousand Marks he received from a literary award. A North German insurance company regularly covers the costs of the monthly bulletin.

An application was recently made to include Amnesty in the list of non-profit-making organisations which receive a portion of the fines imposed by courts of law.

One great handicap to the work is the scarcely penetrable information barrier set up by Communist countries. Amnesty is not always able to find out the number of people in prison camps.

That is why the international secretariat is often unable to give each group the name of a prisoner from Eastern Europe. The large numbers of persecuted people in the German Democratic Republic are the concern of Scandinavian groups as their influence is the greatest.

At present 67 prisoners in the GDR have been adopted, 309 in Russia and 34 in Hungary. The London secretariat has cited three cases in the Federal Republic which are now being investigated.

W. Schulze-Reimpell
(DIE WELT, 18 May 1971)

Free Democrats have no joy or sorrow

Continued from page 3

shock of the provincial elections is still having its effects. Only three Free Democrats returned to the Provincial Assembly in Mainz. The party plans to challenge the results of the election and achieve a better distribution of seats. So far there has been no trouble within the party.

The Hesse branch of the FDP has had the best showing up to now. There is no split within the party, no notable internal clashes – and no election defeat. On the contrary the FDP in Hesse even exceeded Walter Scheel's dream limit of ten per cent.

The recent party congress in Michelstadt also revealed that extremist demands have no chance of being implemented in Hesse. A resolution from Frankfurt demanding land nationalisation was rejected by 210 votes to 63. Seven members abstained.

But the question of private land ownership is still being dealt with by the Hesse FDP. A committee is now meeting to decide how the social obligations connected with land ownership can be more strongly emphasised, how speculation can be prevented and how expropriation procedure can be accelerated.

A whole series of explosive subjects such as worker participation, wealth formation and private land ownership will dominate this year's Federal party congress to be held in October.

Only after this congress will there be any indication of how great the chances of the FDP are for the 1973 election.

Peter Jochen Winters
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 May 1971)

New marriage and family legislation

Divorce courts are no longer to be concerned with the guilt issue in future but only with the fact that a marriage has broken down. Divorces will be granted if a couple has been living apart for three years. A partner contesting the divorce can however put his or her case before the court why the marriage should not be annulled.

These are the basic principles contained in the divorce law reform bill now passed by the Cabinet. The Bill also makes marital partners equal, redrafts maintenance regulations and grants a divorced woman the right to a pension.

Now that the guilt principle has been replaced by that of marital breakdown, a couple will no longer have to expose their married life to public attention. The judge need not now be told intimate details of the marriage in an attempt to clear the question of guilt.

The three-year separation period as proof of marital breakdown will be demanded where one partner wants a divorce but the other refuses. A one-year period is envisaged if both partners want a divorce.

There is however a general clause to enable the annulment of unhappy marriages irrespective of separation periods.

The Bill states that economic reasons should not prove an obstacle to a divorce. But the hardship clause says that even failed marriages shall not be annulled if one of the partners would then suffer hardship of a non-material nature.

The controversial maintenance regulations contained in the first drafts of the Bill drawn up by the Ministry of Justice have been expanded in the government Bill and grant the divorced first wife priority over the second wife.

A divorced woman is now entitled to maintenance if she is unable to earn for reasons of age or sickness or because she has a child from the divorced marriage to bring up.

A clause in the marital law reform states that a married couple will in future be able to chose whatever surname they wish.

The new marital and family law will be supplemented this autumn with a Bill for a new law governing legal procedure in questions of marriage. Both laws will be passed by the Bundestag in this legislative period.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 21 May 1971)

Gerhard Jah[...] plans penal ref[...] by 1973

DIE WEL[T]

Minister of Justice Gerhard [...] Social Democrat, can be [...] party's support for his plan to [...] penal reform during the current [...] period.

Before the end of the year Jah[...] to submit a Cabinet Bill for dis[...] the Bundestag's special commi[...] penal reform.

The first draft for a Bill has been completed at the Mi[...] Justice. It will be discussed in [...] the bodies responsible for the a[...] tion of justice in the Federal sta[...]

The Ministry does not ex[...] serious objections as the Bill [...] mainly on the recommendatio[...] independent commission set [...] Gustav Heinemann was still M[...] Justice. The Federal states' own [...] tatives were included on the panel.

The Bill alters no fewer tha[...] the proposals put forward by the [...] sion but the basic decisions h[...] retained.

Rehabilitation is the main co[...] the Bill that aims to prepare pris[...] a law-abiding life during their [...] prison. Both the commission [...] Ministry's Bill stated, "During [...] ment, the offender should b[...] capable of leading a responsible [...] ing life in future."

With this aim in mind, each se[...] should be adapted to the indiv[...] treatment of offenders and a pri[...] right should only be restricted as [...] is necessary in view of security [...] aim of imprisonment.

Gerhard Jahn realises that [...] liberal penal policy is not pop[...] the general public and stres[...] modern punishment with the [...] rehabilitation is also necessary [...] interest of public security and [...] prevention.

He points out that prisons cut off [...] life outside only encourage an offende[...] commit new crimes when he is rele[...] because he cannot settle down. Pr[...] sentences up to now have not manag[...] reduce the number of criminals repeati[...] former offence.

There is sure to be violent [...] discussion on the proposals about [...] prisons contained in the Bill as w[...] prisoner's parole, visiting regulations [...] and pay.

The Bill proposed that all pris[...] should be housed in open pris[...] prisons where they are allowed [...] outside work under supervision a[...] there is no reason to fear that th[...] escape or make use of the opport[...] commit further crimes.

Prisoners will also be paid more f[...] work they do. At present they wor[...] pittance. In future pay will be at lea[...] per cent of the usual wage paid for [...] job in the neighbourhood of the p[...] The Ministry of Justice estimate[...] about 500 Marks a month will be p[...]

From their pay prisoners will [...] pay a sum to help cover the cost [...] imprisonment (about eight Marks, a[...] ing to the Ministry) as well as [...] insurance and maintenance for their [...] ily.

The Ministry, admits that impleme[...] these proposals will involve conside[...] expense. That is why difficulties wit[...] ministers of finance are expected [...] negotiations with the Federal states.

(DIE WELT, 19 May 1[971])

■ PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

Background and qualifications of Bundestag members

DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT

[S]tatistics show that it is not government and Federal state employees [b]ut professional men who make up the [st]rongest group in the Bundestag in Bonn. [E]xactly one third, namely 173 of the 518 [B]undestag members, are or were lawyers, [d]octors, architects, freelance journalists, [e]conomic and industrial advisers, industrial managers and directors, leading economic and industrial officials in a practically independent position, landlords, farmers or self-employed businessmen or craftsmen.

The second point that has been made is that the Bundestag is developing into a parliament of academics. About half of the members, 241 to be precise, graduated from a university or college. There is a distinct lack of ordinary working men in the Bundestag.

These figures were published by the Federal Republic Government Officials Association, but their statistics do have one snag: the category "professional men" includes all kinds of career from farmer to industrialist.

If this scheme is not followed then government and Federal state employees do make up the largest group in the Bundestag. One hundred and sixty-five Bundestag members fall into this group and in addition there are 29 white-collar workers in the public service.

Following on the heels of the professional men and government employees there are the white-collar workers, who total 132. As far as working men are concerned it was not even worthwhile starting a special category for them. They were included among the nineteen "miscellaneous". It appears that only one Bundestag member in 28 is or was a workman.

These statistics, which were requested by the Munich lawyer Manfred Schmidt, himself a Bundestag member and a government employee, shows the following breakdown into political parties:

	CDU/CSU	SPD	FDP
Professional men	116	37	20
Government employees	78	84	3
White-collar workers in public service	11	17	1
White-collar workers	42	87	3
Miscellaneous	6	12	1

Comparatively speaking the FDP has the most professional men in its ranks. In the CDU/CSU as well they are the largest group. The SPD has more government and Federal state employees than the other parties.

Most of the academics are in the CDU/CSU parliamentary parties in the Bundestag. Over 144 of 253 members, well over half, have graduated from university or college. In the FDP about half are scholars, or to be precise twelve of 28 members. In the SPD about one third have studied at university or collage, 85 members out of a total of 237.

The trend is clearly towards a house of representatives with further education qualifications.

There are now 241 academics in the Bundestag. In the previous Bundestag there were only 221. The Federal Republic Government Officials Association has been able to counter accusations that the Bundestag is developing into a parliament of civil servants, with the thesis that it is becoming an *Akademiker-Parliament*.

Of the younger members aged under forty as many as two-thirds (49 our of seventy) have further education qualifications. In addition to this it should be noted that this is the youngest Bundestag ever. The average age of members is 51 years and ten months.

The youngest party is the SPD with the average age of SPD Bundestag members at 49 years and eight months. Next comes the FDP members, whose average age is 51 years and six months. The CDU/CSU has the highest average age with members averaging 52 years and one month.

The largest age group in the Bundestag as a whole is between 46 and 55 years.

Only 23 members are younger than 35. Thirty three members have already exceeded the normal retiring age of 65. There are 166 new members in this Bundestag. It is surprising to note that many of them, at present 107, have already made a more or less successful maiden speech, although only 18 months of the four-year legislative period have passed.

If participation in Question Time is also taken into consideration 144 of the newcomers to the Bundestag have already made an appearance. Only 19 members have so far maintained complete silence at plenary sessions. Twelve of them are SPD members, the other seven CDU/CSU.

The list of newcomers who have made themselves heard in front of the Bundestag most times is headed by three Free Democrats. This is easy enough to explain: in a small parliamentary party it is obvious that members take their turn to speak more often.

Siegfried Michel
(DEUTSCHES ALLGEMEINES SONNTAGSBLATT, 23 May 1971)

Teeth sharpened to fight internal subversion

The Home Affairs Committee of the Bundestag has unanimously approved an amendment to Basic Law proposed by the government to give more and better protection against extremist and militaristic activities by aliens in the Federal Republic.

According to the amendment the central government would receive exclusive legislative authority over cooperative work between Bonn and the Federal states for the protection of the country against subversive activities by aliens, which might undermine this country's security or international relations.

In addition to this the central government would receive the authority to set up central offices to prepare measures for the protection of this country against such subversive activities.

The committee also unanimously ap proved an amendment to legislation for the protection of Basic Law which would specify the authority vested in Bonn following the amendment to Basic Law.

This concerns the collection and sifting of pieces of information, reports and other data that come in about the anti-constitutional activities of foreigners, which are not direct attacks on the constituional order of the central government or the Federal states but undermine the internal security or the foreign policy affairs of the Federal Republic.

The competence of authorities whose work is to protect Basic Law will be considerably extended in order to help them carry out this work.

It is estimated that these measures will cost the country an extra 1,300,000 Marks from 1971 onwards. Extra expenditure by Federal states on this work has not yet been calculated.

(Das Parlament, 8 May 1971)

Mornings only sessions for the Bundestag

The Bundestag is to reorganise its plenary sessions after Whitsun in order to improve its external image. In practice this will mean a change in the system where Wednesday and Friday meetings often drag on into the small hours of the morning.

Instead of the all-day meetings on Wednesdays and Fridays with a pitifully empty house after midday the new system will involve holding plenary meetings from Wednesday to Friday in the mornings.

For three reasons it is to be hoped that this new system will be blessed with success.

Firstly: A Bundestag where the plenary debates have the main function of presenting to the public one standpoint and the alternative standpoint presents itself better, technically speaking, in the mornings.

Secondly: Even if this is in the main a piece of playacting the Bundestag needs its wings, that is to say a plenary meeting hall, however sparsely it may be filled.

Thirdly: This is more likely to come about when sessions are kept short. Here, however, scepticism sets in.

There is a grave fear that the strict time limit which the Bundestag intends to impose will soon be punched full of holes by the members' urge to speak their mind or the feeling that the strict limitation of time will give opponents a headstart.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 May 1971)

Bundestag is proud of its efficient archives

It does not matter whether a member of the Bundestag wants to glance through the *Peking Revue* over his breakfast or a journalist in Bonn wants to look up the first headlines made by Fritz Erler, both can find a helping hand. One of the largest and best organised parliamentary archives in the world is attached to the Bundestag.

It was 21 years ago that the present Bundestag press spokesman, Kurt Homfeld, began to build up these archives in which there are now four million press clippings.

In the early days about sixty European newspapers and ten press agencies were sifted. Today 175 newspapers are clipped and 190 press services are taken, of which 91 journals and 30 press agencies are regularly sifted.

This means that each day there are between 700 and 900 clippings to collect. They are listed in a catalogue under 7,000 different headings. This contains the most diverse sub-headings from specialised fields such as law, the sciences, education, the arts, defence, development aid, economics, finance, transport and communications and so on and so forth, as well as the names of all leading figures at home and abroad.

Thanks to this accurate key it is possible for the keepers of the archives to find material on every conceivable subject within a minute.

It is this system by which the Bundestag archives are way ahead of parliamentary archives in other states. In other archives, for instance in America, complete issues of newspapers and magazines are kept in chronological order, but are not sorted out according to subjects.

According to Dr Ludwig Pesch, the present director of the press archives, Konrad Adenauer is the greatest – spacewise. His political works stretch for a length of nearly nine metres on the shelves, recorded in 107 volumes. Shelf-space of between three and four metres is taken up by Franz Josef Strauss with 49 files, Willy Brandt with 48 and Theodor Heuss with 40. Twenty five volumes have been collected together on General de Gaulle and 21 on Stalin, while Herbert Wehner and Walter Ulbricht tie with twenty.

Rainer Barzel with eleven, Kai-Uwe von Hassel with nine and Walter Scheel with seven volumes are part of the young guard in the archives. Dr Pesch is particularly proud of his rare editions. The oldest copy of a newspaper in the archive is the *Morgenblatt für die gebildeten Stände* (Morning news for the educated classes) of 1907. There is a complete collection of *The Times* of London from 1860 onwards. These and other rarities have mostly been bought from older archives.

It is Bundestag members themselves who mainly use this press collection to obtain this information for personal use, for work in committees and as preparation for foreign trips. Then come journalists looking for background information.

In addition to this the archives have provided many mature students with material for their doctorates. Eight thousand official visitors were welcomed at the archives during 1970. This figure does nor include short visits so that the actual number of visitors is probably three times as high.

For members of the Bundestag there is a special service. The Bundestag archives also take regional newspapers from the most diverse constituencies. Reports on meetings, election speeches and the like are photo-copied and given to the delegate in question. In this way he can keep in tune with the publications that concern him.

In connection with the press and information centre of the Bundestag a special job is carried out by the press monitoring department. Every morning the president of the Bundestag, the vice-presidents and the chairmen of the parliamentary parties are given press files containing important reports and comment from leading newspapers.

The personnel who carry out this work consist of members of the archives staff and the press centre. Every week a different staff take over so that as much objectivity as possible in the selection of material is achieved.

The lack of space that affects everyone working in the Bundeshaus also makes the work of press documentation difficult. The archives which are already situated in five different places has little room for expansion, and the keepers of the archives themselves have to share a small office.

Dr Pesch is hoping for a reorganisation which will presumably not be possible until the completion of the new Bundeshaus in some years' time.

(Das Parlament, 22 May 1971)

■ RADIO & TELEVISION

Mass media must strive more to become media of the masses

Conventional types of pure entertainment such as shows, quizzes and quiz-shows are uncompromisingly put forward as the only correct forms, especially by Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen (ZDF), this country's second television service.

As far as their structure and content are concerned, they are no more than the popular radio quizzes and shows of the fifties with a picture added. They are in no way specifically television programmes.

The basic form of quiz shows and the Peter Alexander-style musical shows is made up of a number of heterogeneous parts linked by a compere and resembles a revue programme, whose traditions go back to Vienna operetta, especially the second act of *Fledermaus* which is set at Prince Orlofsky's house and presents a number of ballet scenes with celebrities.

The fact that television shows are just filmed dramas, quizzes or interviews is a confirmation of McLuhan's theory that the new media are forced on the whole to take over the functions of the old media.

The new medium of television has enabled comperes and quizmasters to become far more famous than most hit singers. Singers normally vary from programme to programme but the comperes remain the same and the public is able to identify with them.

They only seem to be making television history, however. They think of themselves as the last great entertainers, they mistake short-term effects and believe that they really do have power over the masses.

But all the time they are merely figureheads of a giant entertainment apparatus, spokesmen of a culture industry that will abandon them as soon as viewer response declines.

With their ever-smiling clown's faces they spread the fiction of an intact world.

Frankfurter Rundschau

Their gestures invite viewers to sample their wares. Their real function is to spread a rosy picture of everything, even though they may be really pleasant from time to time.

People are thus encouraged to identify themselves with them and are deceived at the same time. A television service that claims to solve all the problems of leisure time in the twinkling of an eye only provides a surrogate for human contacts.

There is a fixed distribution of roles between transmitter and receiver that is due not to technical reasons but reasons of domination.

This is however concealed as producers use "authentic" pictures and words to give the consumer the impression of actually being there, as Friedrich Knilli puts it.

They apparently make the consumers into eye-witnesses, they present reality to them and make them forget that they are isolated receivers of planned entertainment, education or information.

The suspicion that the reality served up in miniature form on the television screen may not be what it claims may linger in the viewer's subconscience.

That does not however lead to opposition but to a stubborn defence of what viewers feel they are being exposed to. Viewers mistake everything they see, the planned illusions, for the direct social reality that they are unable to witness.

As Theodor W. Adorno writes, "The threateningly cold world comes confidingly towards him (the viewer) as if he were really part of it. He scorns himself in it. The lack of distance, the parody of fraternity and solidarity has certainly helped the new medium to achieve its incredible popularity."

ARD, the first television channel, and Westdeutscher Rundfunk in particular, now tends to provide entertainment programmes that show reality instead of masking it.

Though this trend seems welcome at first glance, it could herald a new era of television entertainment that insures itself against criticism by integrating it into the programme and insures itself against the accusation of irrelevance by partially showing reality.

This type of information show began to achieve the character of a serial when *Groschenspiel* began in February with a programme devoted to equality.

The second programme in the series, devoted to fashion, revealed even more plainly the narrow limits of structure and content. The scanty sociological information is watered down by the prepared discussion of a synthetic television family and is made completely non-controversial and completely harmless by the show parts of the programme.

Viewers can think of themselves as informed without really being so. They can think of themselves as equal and fashion-conscious while still being subjected to the dictates of couturiers. *Groschenspiel* nips any attempt at enlightenment in the bud and replaces criticism by uncritical agreement.

It would be wrong to lay the failure of *Groschenspiel* at the doorstep of the new type of information show. Programmes could easily be compiled to link information and entertainment, awaken the viewer's consciousness, stimulate his desire to participate and also show him that not only television productions can be altered.

Hans Magnus Enzenberger states, "For the first time in history media allow mass participation in a social and socialised productive process whose practi[cal] [me]thods rest in the hands of the [people] themselves. This use would bri[ng] communications media, a title the[y have] so far wrongly borne, to thei[r] purpose.

"In their present form systems [such as] television or films do not serve c[ommu]nication but its prevention. They [do not] permit any relationship between [trans]mitter and receiver. To use te[chnical] language, they reduce feedback t[o the] minimum possible."

While pointing to the emanc[ipatory] possibilities of electronic media, E[nzen]berger is repeating a much-quot[ed de]mand made by Bertolt Brecht i[n his] *Radio Theory of 1932.*

"Radio must be transformed f[rom a] distribution system into a comm[unica]tions system," Brecht said, addi[ng that] this type of proposal would [have to] remain abstract at first as it coul[d not be] implemented under the present system.

As Director General Hammersch[lag of] the Südwestfunk states, there i[s no] equality before the camera and [micro]phone.

That does not however mean [these] proposals are made in vain. They [help] in building up a new society. Wha[t must] now be done is to turn to the [contra]diction between the present state [of the] media, especially television, an[d their] objective revolutionary potential.

That means that left-wing pr[oducers] will have to think of what sub[versive] methods they can use to repres[ent the] standpoint of the masses on televi[sion].

Intellectuals in the Federal Re[public] have nearly all been brought up wi[th an] elitist cultural system in which ent[ertain]ment does not figure as it is resem[bled to] the "primitive" masses.

Brecht on the other hand point[ed out] that there was no law of natu[re that] learning and amusement needed to [be] contradictory. There was no co[ntra]diction that always existed nor any [that] had to exist for ever.

The revolutionary bourgeois aesth[etics] founded by Lessing and Diderot di[d not] see any difference between entert[ainment] and enlightenment: "Pure amus[ement] even about tragic objects, seemed [to]

Continued on page 7

'Other cinema' films find it hard to find a home

Duisburg was the scene of an attempt to set the guidelines and outlines of "subsidised cinema" when a weekend seminar was held there recently. Twelve films made in the Federal Republic were shown with funds provided by the North Rhine-Westphalian Minister of Education. None of these films had been able to find a distribution company prepared to back them.

Unless the 16mm film clubs are prepared to run these films there seems to be little likelihood of their seeing the light of day again.

The most competent of them undoubtedly was Werner Herzog's *Auch Zwerge haben klein angefangen* (Even dwarfs started in a small way).

Among the new films are Edgar Reitz' and Ulla Stöckl's *Geschichten vom Kübelkind* and George Moorse's *Lenz*, which is based on a novella by Georg Büchner.

In between showings there were discussions and evaluations of these films and there was a clear climate of opinion that there should be "communal cinemas."

Among the ideas put forward was the suggestion that education policies should be written large; the aim should be to promote the arts and there should be clear boundaries marked between the new trends in visual art and tendencies in the cinema to date.

The dividing line here is quite clear. Audiences should not go to cinemas to be entertained, it is claimed, but they should go there to be made to think.

Films should not be consumer goods – they should make demands, it was suggested. This is a call that strikes home far more with the younger generation than with representatives of their fathers' and grandfathers' generations.

Since performances of films from "the other cinema," the underground, cannot be sychronised with conventional, commercial cinema because their content runs contradictory to each other it is unavoidable that all efforts to make the two come to terms and be identified with each other will fail. There seems little practical possibility of success.

In this country two cinema dialects have already developed. The clearer we are about this fact in our minds the clearer we will be about future developments in the cinema.

There was a clear expression of this fact in Duisburg where a non-profit-making film distribution company took a bow. This company will have commenced operations in Frankfurt on 1 May this year selling exclusively "das andere Kino."

As a starter it will have 150,000 Marks from funds provided by the "Kuratorium junger deutscher Film." An important nucleus of the company planning will be production of a catalogue of all films available and the cinemas in this country that are prepared to show this type of film.

From among the ideas expressed, reflecting the thinking of the young film-makers and their partners, we can see that the performances that Hilmar Hoffmann has developed for Frankfurt and for the commercial cinema have fallen on fruitful ground.

Simply from the point of view of cooperation with commercial cinemas ideas are vastly different. On the one hand the commercial cinemas take the point of view that they are quite capable of showing these art films and put their premises at the disposal of the general public if local authorities are prepared to give guarantees that they will cover the expenses. That is to say promises to pay for financial losses from the taxpayers' money.

Hilmar Hoffmann and his "working group", however, take the point of view that conventional cinemas have audiences that are used to their popular, traditional films and who are likely to be unprepared for this type of film, that is to say the people who visit a cinema to see conventional films will not go there to see these tricky films. They will not want to.

On the other hand art cinemas [which] specialise in films that do not have m[ass] appeal, but at least are able to pay th[eir] way will not be in a position to tak[e on] "the other cinema" since program[me] planning, such as that at the Be[rlin] "Arsenal" – taken here to show a tr[end] and not as an exemplary case – canno[t be] carried out by the men who run [the] art-film cinemas because they have [not] the necessary control and contacts.

At the talks with the proprietor[s of] cinemas Hilmar Hoffmann had to ad[mit] that he wanted to use the tax money [that] was once taken from cinemas in e[nter]tainment tax to destroy the cinemas [that] are still in existence. Hilmar Hoffm[ann] himself responsible for this critic[al atti]tude. In a recent interview he stat[ed that] in Frankfurt alone he wanted to ach[ieve] an annual turnover of 500,000 M[arks] with his communal cinema.

He could not have realised that of [the] 3,400 cinemas that remain in this co[untry] only 55 manage to achieve such a [turnover] each year.

Nothing remained for Hoffman[n but] to withdraw this hopelessly un[realistic] remark and set his sights much lowe[r].

But he and his working group [are] resolute in their desire to come t[o an] agreement on cooperation with cin[ema] proprietors and film distribution c[om]panies.

Ideas on subsidised cinema are ta[king] shape day by day. In the next few w[eeks] it will be possible to see where this [will] lead.

(Kieler Nachrichten, 21 April 1971)

■ CINEMA

George Moorse's latest film does justice to its material

It is only at first glance that George Moorse's latest film *Lenz* can be said to belong to the fashionable run of social-romantic domestic films. A factor that could be said to tie it up with this trend is the exotic climate of his portrayals of tragedy, his detailed work and depiction of a genre, the aesthetic stylisation which is pushed to its limits and lastly the material.

Georg Büchner's fragmentary novella *Lenz* is the basis for it. But this too marks Moorse off from the others who have worked out their material from books. They made discoveries in the pages of history books. Moorse searched for his discoveries in a literary work.

Lenz is without doubt his best film to date. It is the most serious film he has made and the identification on the director with his work is at its strongest in this film.

This latest George Moorse film takes on an appearance as alien and bizarre – although not so striking – as Werner Herzog's *Lebenszeichen*.

Two erratic blocks in our film landscape, two boulders are linked together in the mind and then not solely because of the fact that in each film the hero goes mad and the progress of the decay of the senses is the central theme and Nature as the antagonist of Mankind is the conqueror of Mankind in the end.

Apart from these and numerous other impulses and motivations that link the Herzog and Moorse works the factors that make the two similar can be characterised as a great similarity in the disposition of the men who created them.

Werner Herzog had a literary model, a novella by Achim von Arnim set in nineteenth-century Marseilles, which he transposed to Greece at the time of the German occupation.

The insanity of the central character is crystallised in the enigmatic speechlessness of things, noises, movements and quietness. It breaks out in boiling heat, under a cloudless sky, in a world of clear contours and shadowlessness.

Albert Camus' myth of the absurd is closer to this irrationality – coming from the brightness of the consciousness – than blurred German contemplation.

Büchner himself was of a critical nature, setting his realism against the idealism of Schiller and the obscurantism of late Romantic works. In Lenz, the Sturm und Drang dramatist, he recognised a spiritual ancestor, an impeded revolutionary who was stopped in his tracks.

But Büchner's only work of poetic prose did not turn out to be a historical novella and it is completely devoid of political allusions. *Lenz* is unlike his three plays. It became a prose work of poetic reflection complete in its pictorial and plastic aspects. It is a question directed at himself: what becomes of me if I imagine him as a contemporary?

Büchner had to flee from Darmstadt after being involved in a revolutionary conspiracy. Like him, Lenz was a refugee who sought his peace in looking at Nature in the parish of his friend Oberlin in a corner of Alsace that was far away from the rest of the world.

He still believes that he can combine his poetic programme of unrestrained realism with the Christian religion. He seeks solace in the comforting of both; that the world is, and evermore shall be, like the mountains, the oceans and the wind and that there is a blissfulness that rises above the tumult of life.

Consolations demand sacrifices. Büchner and Lenz both occupied themselves at great depth with Spinoza, and his philosophy has been a ferment of democratic rebellion in the history of German literature and religion.

Pantheism, which is at the bottom of realistic poetry, and the Christian religion, too, are sources of rest only if the facts are accepted.

What Lenz time and time again calls "Mitleid" (sympathy) and what torments him goes far beyond the realms of "Mitleiden" according to the way of the world, its necessities and the "that's the way it is" of it. To change, to be active, resistance. But where to be active, where to make changes following the disaster (like Büchner, who at the point of disillusionment, at precisely that point in time, turned his attention towards the case of Lenz)?

Withdrawal of the subject to his own subjectiveness, his retirement from society, history in prehistory (what else is Oberlin's remote parish?) and the search for the lost indentity with Nature.

This emigration from active awareness into sought-after inactivity, a passive world, leads Lenz into the world of the mad, into madness. The sacrificium intellectus is not the outcome of it and the price which he must pay is insanity.

A scene from Moorse's *Lenz* which sticks closely to the original Brückner novella

(Photo: unipro)

Büchner's novella *Lenz* is a surgical operation on the history of religion, describing the catastrophe of a thought process that frees itself and of its attempts to give itself up, which resists and which nevertheless holds itself captive.

Whatever Lenz calls out to in the realms of Nature, whatever of Nature reaches up to him by way of faces, threats and *Angst* is the self-projection of an aimless protest that of necessity remains abstract and is driven off in metaphysics. Only concrete dialectics would escape these contradictions.

What Büchner fixed as a fractional part of his own consciousness in the figure of Lenz has not been developed beyond Büchner by George Moorse. It has thus been crystallised as a turning point of spiritual and social history.

He has rather reverted back beyond Büchner in the direction of Romanticism predating Büchner's progressive recognition of the fact that bourgeois emancipation does not succeed of its own accord.

Writing about his film George Moorse stated: "*Lenz* is a song of the Earth reflecting the growing alienation from Mankind in the young poet Jakob Michael Lenz, his friend Pastor Oberlin and the simple close-to-Nature people of the mountains ... To my mind the film deals with time and the earth and the ways these directly affect human relationships and become the central point of them."

If we are to go along with this interpretation of the film that Moorse himself has put on it then we cannot view the contemporary illustrations of America and revolutionary France which Moorse has placed around his film like a protective surround as the signs of a break-out from Lenz' catastrophe, but as motifs and presages of advancing doom.

Then Oberlin and his backwoodsmen become the inhabitants of some far-off Arcadia, at one with Nature and themselves; mostly quiet types, as silent and speechless as Nature which confronts the tormented Lenz and wrapped in the warm, diffuse light of contentment.

Then Oberlin's therapeutic pointer to the consolation offered by religion would just be a magical formula and Lenz, who does not bow to it, would be an intellectual who has fallen by the wayside, sinning against the laws of harmoniousness.

Then the George Moorse film *Lenz* would be the opposite of the Georg Büchner novella *Lenz*, the tragedy of a failed attempt to return to identity with Nature which proves impossible, a vain search for lost naivety.

But it is not so easy to pinpoint the reactionary significance that Moorse has given to his film. The fact that the film *Lenz* is fluorescent is probably due to the slavish way Moorse has stuck to Büchner's original text.

Just how much the historical balance is subjugated to this and symbolist mythology comes to the fore is shown by certain motifs (such as Oberlin's helpless religiousness) since they themselves have become historical today.

Nevertheless Moorse has done everything to romanticise Büchner's realism to the point of melodrama. Nature appears daemonically distorted: the valley of human beings becomes a gorge full of wolves. Here, however, he comes up against the extremes of the pictorial possibilities of the film.

However precisely he tries to find pictorial equivalents for the heated sobriety of Bücher's language – and he succeeds in this convincingly at certain points – he still strays from the precise strength which governs Büchner's *Lenz*, backing the film with horrific organ music and becomes far too Expressionist at times.

The great aesthetic charm of this film is certainly moving and its fascination comes with the degree to which the director has submerged himself in his story.

For many frames *Lenz* is a masterpiece. Moorse can see the topicality of "the Lenz case". There is the weariness and disgust with thought and the contradictions this involves, with society and the power it wields; the longing for unadulterated happiness, for intimacy, for forgetfulness and the masochistic feeling of self-destructive decline and "dropping-out" corresponds to the current mood among many young people in our society.

In Moorse's *Lenz* many people may recognise themselves. This would mean sinking to the same depths, passivity, a trip. The fashionable word for it is "affirmation".

Wolfram Schütte

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 May 1971)

Film awards

The Ministry of the Interior has awarded the films *Erste Liebe* (First love) and Lenz the "Filmband in Gold" prize. The Deutscher Filmpreis for directing went to Michael Fengler and Rainer Werner Fassbinder for *Warum läuft Herr R. Amok*? (Why does Herr R. run amok?).

The third "Filmband in Gold" for directing was awarded to Volker Schlöndorf for *Der plötzliche Reichtum der armen Leute von Kombach* (The sudden wealth of the poor people of Kombach).

A "Filmband in Gold" prize for an up-and-coming director went to Horst Bienek for *Die Zelle* (The cell). Michael Verhoeven received an award for his script of *O.K.*.

Awards for acting were presented to Hanna Schygulla for her parts in *Whity* and *Matthias Kneissl*, Karin Jacobsen for *Das Freudenhaus* (The bordello), Michael König for *Lenz* and the new actress Eva Mattes for her roles in *O.K.* and *Matthias Kneissl*.

(DIE WELT, 14 May 1971)

Continued from page 6

quite empty and undignified to the Diderots and Lessings if it added nothing to the audience's knowledge, and didactic elements, in artistic form of course, did not seem to disturb their amusement in any way. According to them it added depth to entertainment."

The theory of entertaining enlightenment propagated here by Brecht must be gradually introduced into television. It must be remembered at the same time that truth depends essentially on the form of its presentation.

As Jean-Luc Godard says, "The cinema manufactures a lot of pictures just as imperialism itself manufactures a lot of pictures. So many pictures are shown that a person becomes completely lost. These pictures are senseless. We on the other hand must try to make fewer pictures in order to be able to control them better."

That means we must expose the ideological nature of confusing film sequences and close-ups of legs, breasts and backsides that television presents its viewers as well as advertisers' whiter-than-white smiles and the crooning of hit singers.

We must describe programmes that attack symptoms of our society less as phenomena of enlightenment than as phenomena of a *mise-en-scène.*

Finally, we must find ways for groups and individuals to produce their own films on their own subjects with calm photography, picture montage, revealing cuts and a sound track that does not conform to the film but questions it. The mass media may then gradually become the media of the masses.

Michael Buselmeier

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 May 1971)

EDUCATION

National institute needed to sort out education problems

Lübecker Nachrichten

We have been hearing and reading for years that there must be more students. Now we read that we shall soon have an academic proletariat. There are even said to be too many elementary school teachers though there has always been talk of a teacher shortage until recently. There are also supposed to be too many lawyers and doctors. What is really true? What should we study?"

Perplexed, pupils in the years leading up to the school-leaving certificate are asking this type of question. It is understandable that they want to have a secure career. But this security does not exist.

Professor Josef Hitpass, Professor of Psychology at Cologne, was asked these questions during his investigation into students conditions up to the year 2000.

He replied that he could not rule out the possibility of there being an army of unemployed graduates. Taking up Georg Picht's cry about the disastrous situation facing German education – made half a century ago – he demanded new measures in face of the possibile overproduction of graduates and an excessive number of qualified school-leavers.

These steps should ensure that there will not be another type of educational disaster and mean that the commonplace talk about a misled educated generation should cease.

Between 1900 and 1960 the proportion of pupils in any one year who passed the *Abitur* school-leaving certificate remained almost constant at around five per cent.

That was high enough to cover the need of academics in all subjects. But the Federal Republic has long lagged behind other States. Among Common Market countries only Italy is in a worse position. The unease felt by experts can therefore be understood.

The gap will not be made up in the foreseeable future by the increase of students in the past ten years. That educational boom that first started in 1960 caught the authorities responsible unprepared despite the fact that they had always called for expansion.

A spread of admission restrictions for some subjects at some universities was the result of the surprising increase of Abitur-holders to eleven per cent.

Professor Hitpass says, "You don't need to be a prophet to see the threat of a total bar on admissions in future if the trend to study continues and the universities and colleges of further education are not expanded."

It is estimated that the proportion of Abitur-holders will triple in the forty years between 1960 and 2000. The greatest part of the increase will come in the years between 1970 and 1990 and 1984 or 1985 will probably be the absolute boom year.

The number of Abitur-holders will increase from the present figure of eighty thousand to at least 145,000 though it may rocket to 230,000 or even 330,000.

How can that be worked out? Various investigations have shown that about fifteen per cent of any school year are capable of passing the traditional Abitur with two foreign languages, mathematics and science.

Considering accomplished and proposed reforms of high schools such as the specialisation opportunities drawn up in Saarbrücken, the faculty Abitur, the sixth-form college and innovations such as the comprehensive school, it would not be unrealistic to estimate that thirty per cent of a school year could matriculate.

And the student figures? The bulge is gradually spreading from the schools to the universities. The estimates of the Council of Arts and Science have been overtaken by reality.

A decisive factor is the over-lengthy period of study. Students spend an average of almost six years at university before taking their final examinations. The student population would rapidly sink if the study period were cut to four or five years.

Medical and theology students tend to overrun their compulsory period of study less than other groups and come nearest to the six-year average. As far as the study period is concerned, physicists head the list with seven and a half years along with chemists and their seven years.

Pharmaceutical students ha[illegible] shortest study period with thre[illegible] while agriculturalists study for th[illegible] a half years. Candidates for higher[illegible] ing positions study for anything[illegible] seven years.

Thinking about the future [illegible] figures is enough to make a perso[illegible] There will be no spectacular ris[illegible] 1975 when they will only increa[illegible] 325,000 to 359,000.

But in the following ten years [illegible] 300,000 students are expected [illegible] means that there will proba[illegible] 650,000 students in 1986.

This is the absolute maximum [illegible] probably drop by about 100,000 [illegible] year 2000. But here too there [illegible] more optimistic forecasts claim [illegible] the million level will have been [illegible] by the mid-eighties.

These widely differing foreca[illegible] the whole helplessness of edu[illegible] planning. Attempting to forecast [illegible] ments is almost impossible. [illegible] nothing is known about neces[illegible] placements or new blood in al[illegible] branches of education.

Professor Hitpass states, "The [illegible] is all the more precarious as many [illegible] and students do not and cannot [illegible] whether they are studying th[illegible] subject for a future career. Thoug[illegible] will be overproduction of graduate[illegible] will probably be a deficit i[illegible] branches."

At present there are 31 univer[illegible] the Federal Republic. Their ad[illegible] restrictions show that their cap[illegible] almost exhausted.

If the present university syste[illegible] admit all would-be students – th[illegible] of the education boom – and [illegible] demand "Education is a civil right [illegible] be implemented to its logical exte[illegible] the right to study and the right [illegible]

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Frankfurter Allgemeine

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"Everything gets on my nerves," complained the man to the firm's doctor as he was being examined. "I no longer take any pleasure in doing anything, I'm always tired and what's more I'm fed up to my back teeth of things."

The man, still young, really did look unhappy. He looked pale and nervous, complained of inexplicable fears, of headaches, a lack of appetite and of insomnia.

The doctor made him do a few exercises and pedal away on a bicycle. He then saw that his patient's heart would not stand up to much strain.

The doctor did not seem surprised at the symptoms. The patient he was examining was one of a hundred workers who were all complaining of the same ills.

But these workers had something else in common – they all did the same job. All of them were controllers in a fully automated chemicals factory.

They had next to nothing to do when at work. The instruments of their control panels nearly always remained static, indicating that everything was all right so that there was little point in looking at them. The instruments often made no reaction during the whole working day. Defects were corrected automatically.

The private lives the workers' were also similar. They were all approximately the same age, travelled about the same distance to work and lived under similar conditions.

Wilhelm Nesswetha, an industrial doctor living in Frankfurt, thought that there was a link between the enforced idleness of the controlllers and their pathological irritability.

He therefore selected a hundred workers from three chemical concerns and observed their health and mood for more than ten years.

His findings showed that workers were always happy with their new job at first as the work was clean and they did not need to exert themselves physically.

This feeling was all the more pronounced if they had come from older-style works where assembly-line techniques were still practised. In the new job the responsibility for the complicated apparatus increased their self-confidence.

Their contentedness did not last long and soon changed to discontent. During their second year at the job,

Their contentedness did not last long and soon changed to discontent. During their second year at the job, there was an increase in complaints of nervous disorders, irritability, moodiness, sudden attacks of sweating and heart complaints.

"During working hours," Dr Nesswetha says, "they often tended to yawn, their pupils contracted and there were spasmodic impulses to open their eyes wide. Almost desperate attempts to gather their throughts and concentrate could also be observed."

These medical findings have been reached by other doctors and confirm one pessimistic forecast that has always been made of the age of automation – robots can free a person of hard physical strain

Continued from page 8

a place at university, at least twenty new universities will be needed by 1985 and perhaps as many as forty.

Only if there is a reform of studies and the study period is noticeably shortened with the replacement of a two-semester year by a three-term year will thirty new universities be enough.

Faced by this uncertain situation, Professor Josef Hitpass' demand for a national institute of educational planning is understandable. A body of this type would have to register and channel all educational trends.

In a study entitled *Educational Boom* the Professor also demands a decision on whether the old formula of Abitur means study means an academic career can still be retained in the face of the expected increase in the student population.

Dr Gerhard Weise

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 14 May 1971)

MEDICINE

Enforced idleness threatens the health of today's workers

Hannoversche Allgemeine

but cannot stop his health deteriorating.

Health is now threatened by a different type of strain than was once the case. It is no longer noise, dust or chemical gases that threaten it but a new form of working boredom where, as Dr Nesswetha states, work involves a low level of activity.

People such as these controllers become dog-tired but they are kept awake artificially by their responsibility and prevented from day-dreaming. Those who have worked in automated concerns isolated from their colleagues have described their enforced idleness as mental torment.

Dr Nesswetha carried out an experiment. The workers plagued by boredom were transferred back to a conventional position where they immediately regained their health.

Automation raises unusual questions. Can a person be forced to be idle? Is it right to reward idleness at work with a higher rate of pay than manual labour? Can a comfortable existence threaten a person's life?

Automation has freed work so much from physical effort that the concept of work has obviously been redefined. The old working ethos has been turned topsy-turvy. Today there are well-paid positions for which a lack of effort is an important qualification.

A well-known automation expert and boss of a fully automated factory admitted straight out, "For less qualified posts we need lazy people who like to take it easy."

Many people find it hard to accept these changes. Older workers often have trouble in adapting to the new working style. They still have a picture of the manual worker who is proud to return home at night in a sweat-soaked shirt.

Imposed idleness leads to a guilt complex in many cases. These are the people who were once taken possession of by an indeterminate senseless urge for action whenever the foreman passed by.

Muscular activity has been replaced by nervous activity in automated factories and sometimes not even by that. Traditional male attributes such as muscles, hard work and initiative are an obstacle under certain conditions.

What is now in demand are qualities such as patience, calmness and a balanced personality, in short the ability to bear responsibility and do nothing for hours on end.

Industrial psychologists have stated that the best worker for an automated factory is one with few ideas, little initiative and only moderate intelligence. Too many ideas are harmful. A pedantic attitude is often an advantage.

The list of male qualities guaranteeing a successful career has now been enlarged with more and more feminine qualities such as composure, mental balance and the ability to conform.

Years ago a number of manufacturers introduced occupational therapy courses on the advice of psychologists. Workers were seated in front of measuring instruments and recorded measurements that were worthless though they did not know it at the time.

Many automated factories have no lifts in order that workers there can at least enjoy a minimum of movement. Work that could easily be done in one place has been spread over a wide area in the factory.

One large chemical concern has set up a department where inactive personnel can add some variety to their working day by playing table tennis or taking care of fish in a aquarium.

It would be ridiculous to attack automation or even reverse the trend. Only fools could seriously dispute the need for automation in various branches of industry. Whole branches owe their existence to electronics alone. And accident figures rapidly decline in automated factories.

But now we are beginning to see that the much-praised labour-saving side to it is of extremely doubtful advantage from a certain point onwards.

Workers in automated concerns are not threatened by overstrain now but by understrain. It is true that this affects mainly lower grades but the numbers involved are on the increase.

Numbers will continue to increase as technology becomes more advanced. Even programmers are threatened with redundancy because of automation.

Today highly-specialised work no longer demands as much experience, ability and hard work so that these gifts are threatened by atrophy.

But all people have a basic need to express their personality in the work they do. That is why employers now look for men where this need is not very pronounced perhaps for pathological reasons.

Automation clearly shows that industry is breeding its own type of worker whose qualities are often diametrically opposed to those of normal people.

Anyone wanting to rid society of these by-products of automation would have to demand the end of technology. Modern industrial work and automation in particular offer workers a better chance of compensating for their enforced idleness by providing more leisure time.

But there is no indication that the majority of "immobile" workers are taking advantage of their opportunities here. On the contrary, lack of exercise and boredom have already become a leisure time problem. *Heinrich Ricker*

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 15 May 1971)

Behavioural research investigates prejudice

A crow that spreads its wings in a different manner from others of its species is pursued by them and assaulted. Perhaps the same sort of thing would happen to a monk who entered a dockside bar.

Humans and animals react in the same way. Anyone who is in any way different immediately causes offence. This phenomenon was recently investigated in depth by psychologists and behavioural researchers.

Their studies revealed astonishing parallels between animal and human behavioural patterns. When an individual deviates from the norm of the group, he is not tolerated.

Many people take offence against deviations that are no fault of the person manifesting them though they do try to hide it in the main. They laugh about anyone with a limp, a squint, a speech impediment, a goitre or a hump back.

The established norm can vary wildly from area to area. In out of the way villages in Upper Bavaria where the water has a low iodine content goitres do not attract so much attention as in North Germany.

On the Adriatic a nudist would cause offence. On the other hand a clothed person would cause offence on the nudist beaches of Sylt.

The level of offence can range from a critical glance to lynch justice. Dr Rudolf Bilz, the Mainz Professor of Psychology, differentiates between four grades:

* a simple turning of the head,
* a malicious smile or scornful laugh,
* verbal insults and abuse,
* actual aggression.

Although taking offence often ends in the persecution of unpopular minorities, it is viewed by research as a behavioural pattern that preserves a society.

Dr Johannes Kneutgen of Siegburg explained this in a study he recently published. "Social order," he wrote, "is guaranteed by the fact that violations against it irrespective of what form they take, attract the attention of the populace and are punished."

It is often irrelevancies such as long hair that arouse "normal" people. Dr Kneutgen states, "People often interfere in things or actions that do not concern them on the pretext that they are serving society."

The differences to animal behaviour are often negligible. Dr Kneutgen for example compares the reactions of motorists with those of migratory birds and other social animals.

"The oldest and simplest form of social coexistence is the anonymous crowd," he says and goes on to describe the emotions of a human crowd in a traffic queue waiting at a junction when a speedhog overtakes.

Dr Kneutgen writes, "At first I hope that he has to stop at the junction for hours. If he manages to get out my anger increases even more. But I am unable to leave the queue and copy him and so stay were I am.

"The overtaking motorist is sure of attracting the attention of those driving according to the letter of the law as I can see from their angry glances.

"If the overtaking motorist is unlucky and cannot cut into the queue, I am filled with a sense of satisfaction. Other people in the queue seem to feel the same way as nobody thinks of allowing the renegade back into the queue. No one leaves any space between himself and the car in front. Although my rational half knows that my feelings are absurd, my emotional side approves."

Taking offence is closely linked with prejudice. Hamburg psychologist Attila Szabó found that it was more common among the lower than the upper classes.

"The more people have to put up with during the day, the more discontented they are with their life, the more prejudices they will have towards patterns of behaviour deviating from the norm," he claims.

This goes so far that anything unknown is automatically rejected. But there is a way of combatting this. Psychologists recommend exercises to increase mental flexibility.

Szabó explains, "One's own experience is often valued too highly. A thirty-year-old experience may only mean that a person has been doing something wrong for thirty years."

Dr Kneutgen cites an example from the animal world. His male dingo hates a yellow boxer and vice-versa. Both live close to each other. Although the dingo is friendly to all other dogs and even lets them feed from his bowl, he always tries to attack the boxer. It may be of small consolation to Man, but it seems that even animals have prejudices.

Florian Rauberg/PAM

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 May 1971)

THE ECONOMY

Payment in arrears for 20 years' boom

The further back we stand and look at the events surrounding the resignation of the Federal Finance Minister, Alex Möller, and the promotion of Professor Karl Schiller to be the "superminister" for Economic Affairs and Finance, the clearer we see that these events have cut deep – not only for the Brandt/Scheel coalition government, but also for the Federal Republic as a whole.

This could be the last attempt possible for a long-term programme of steering the ship of State and society into a new channel.

Meantime it must have become obvious to even the greatest optimists in the government camp that this cannot be brought about by a sharp change of course, but only by means of a process that takes a long time, happens gradually and only becomes very gradually effective and obvious.

What must happen? This can be answered in one sentence. The State, society and the people of this country must pay many high dues backdated over twenty years for the twenty years of economic boom and prosperity they have enjoyed. This is something that has never been asked of them before, or has at least been suppressed, as far as possible.

This is intended as a statement of fact, not a reproach. Certainly the governments led by the CDU/CSU have used the drug of striving for large profits to the utmost. The result of this was a steep economic climb.

This brought gain to most, but certainly not all the people in this country. A few did very well for themselves out of it. The outcome of this is that today property and wealth are most unfairly distributed, not only to the detriment of large sections of the community, but also to the detriment of society and the State.

We very quickly became accustomed to the drug, especially those who were the first to try it and who experienced the quickest and most intense effect.

Profits must today be at a very high level if they are to be regarded as an incentive. With a fair degree of delay the drug has begun to take effect on workers and trade unions. Certainly for individuals the result was always slighter among the working classes and up till today many are sensing little or nothing of its effects. Numerically speaking, however, costs have become very high, despite this.

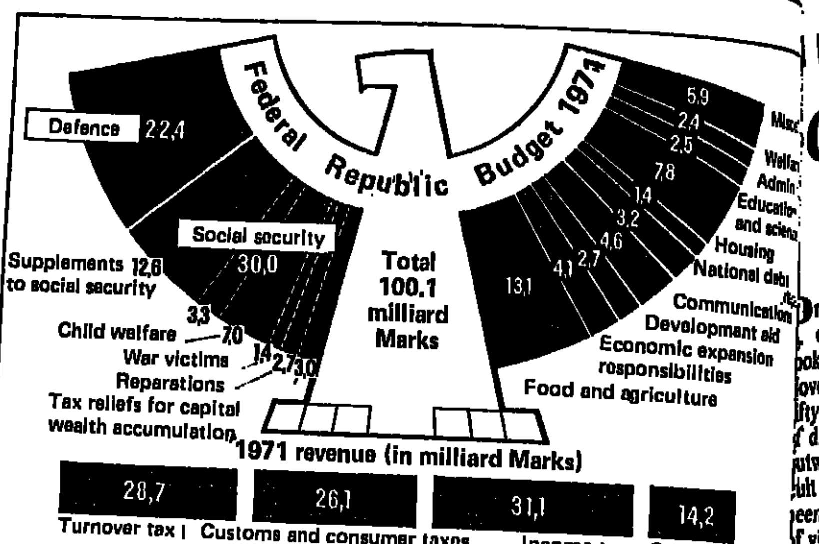
Both procedures are, as we have learnt to our cost in recent weeks, very difficult to hold in check and can terrify even the strongest and most influential among us.

The reason is that a contradiction arises that is very difficult to resolve. If the profits of industrialists in our free market economy are to be squeezed so hard that industrialists see no more point in enterprise, wage and salary earners will lose out. Not only will they not be able to have wage increases, their wage-packets will be endangered as will their jobs.

This unpleasant fact applies just as much to the State if it tries to grab too much in the way of taxes as to the workers and their trade unions if these try to grab too much in the way of wages and salaries.

On the other hand the State needs its money from the taxpayer and the wage and salary earner needs his pay to maintain a good standard of living.

This is a problem that could well take up the whole of a government's time. It is brought to a head in a climate of international inflation where there is a temptation for the employer and employee to be hand-in-glove with the former offering the latter all the pay he demands and paying for this by passing on the extra costs to the consumer in the form of higher prices.



But this is not the whole of the dilemma. In addition there are all those problems that have been neglected over the past twenty years in favour of private wealth and which have accumulated. The present government with its declared aim of carrying out social welfare reforms wanted to get to grips with these problems.

Of these the problems concerned with the protection of the environment can scarcely be postponed, if these can be classified as reforms. Similarly a great deal of the work that goes under the heading of educational reforms cannot be postponed.

Of all the real reforms that are necessary to secure a decent human standard of living for people in our modern industrial society there has been little said. The one thing that is common to all three spheres is that they cost an infinite amount of money.

Is the Bonn government with Professor Karl Schiller, the Superminister himself, in a position to create a platform of economic policies despite all the disappointments of the past eighteen months, permitting this government still to be a government of reform – perhaps not a government of reforms completed, but at least a government of reforms begun? This is the question that is to be answered in the next few weeks.

If the answer is in the affirmative this means that the government is … resist the understandable pres… trade unions for further pay inc… in so doing to strengthen … companies. This is not a pleasa… a Social Democrat-led governme…

For as long as the present … ment continues this is somet… cannot be achieved. But the … already accused one CDU/CSU … ment of purposely and inte… bringing about a recession.

Basically it is never too late … ment a good policy. But time … out – there is little time lef… autumn 1973 (the next general …

Schiller now wields mighty po… just because he is head of a … ministry and because the proble… pressing. His greatest power li… fact that if he fails and has to … will bring the government crashing around his ears.

The man in the street might … with supreme indifference if … the prospect of other and bette… tions.

But the CDU/CSU does not even h… candidate for the Chancellorship … economic programme worked ou… fact that the payments for twenty … of economic boom are having to … in arrears alters nothing.

Hans Gel.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 18 Ma…

Schiller must decide shortly tax-increase question

Why is it that obvious facts have all of a sudden become newsworthy? Or is it no longer an obvious fact that there will be no tax increase during 1971?

Economic Affairs cum Finance Minister Karl Schiller was in fact only repeating what has been known for some time and still remains contentious when he stated recently that "tax increases are not on in 1971" But since the eclipse of Alex Möller many ordinary people have felt so insecure that they have not been able to treat obvious facts as obvious in all cases...

Professor Schiller's statements must be read as carefully as those of his predecessor in the Finance Ministry. And if it should be confirmed that no tax increase be on "for" 1971 this by no means excludes tax increases from 1 January 1972 onwards.

In fact it would be possible tomorrow – still "in" the year 1971 – to turn the tax screw for 1972 without breaking faith.

Tax increases to cover expenditure *in* the fiscal year 1971 are, however, already dispensable, since the stabilisation measures taken by the Bonn government state that excess taxes levied up to a level of one milliard Marks should be diverted to economic adjustment reserves.

In other words, it has been assumed that more money would be flowing into the Bonn exchequer than is required for planned expenditure in 1971 – and it must be taken into account that the amount required for government expenditure is being reduced for economic policy reasons. Therefore there can be no question of finding sufficient tax money "for" 1971.

The situation looks quite different with regard to the budget in 1972. According to the financial plans for 1970-1974 that were approved last year, government expenditure should increase by 8.5 per cent compared with the debit account for 1971 to 108.6 milliard Marks, creating a finance account of 5,5 milliard Marks, which would be made up of 5.3 milliard Marks net credit raised and 200 million Marks in coinage receipts.

Meantime financial plans of this scope seem to be out of date already, largely because of demands of ministerial departments on the expenditure side. On the other hand it is too early to speak of a "hole" in financing, since the struggle to make expenditure requirements and revenue possibilities tally is still going on.

Nevertheless there is good reason for maintaining that there is at present a "problem" amounting to about five thousand million Marks. When measured against the proposed budget of close on 109 milliard Marks this problem does not seem insurmountable, yet there should be no mistaking that additional expenditure requirements in the spheres of defence, transport and science are not easy to spirit away.

And even if at the end of a long, hard paring process there remains a hard core of between two and three milliard Marks there will still be the question: how should this be raised – tax increases or higher government loans?

It is already just about certain that before this year is out the decision to increase the tax on fuel-oil will be taken. But it is just as certain that this tax increase from January 1972 will not serve to close any gaps in the government's budgeting plans.

The intention is to use the extra money levied exclusively for building major highways and for extending traffic facilities on a local basis. Since nobody can deny that greater efforts towards road-building need to be made it is not expected that there will be strong objections to this tax increase.

Thus the problem of the shortage of funds to meet government spending requirements is for the most part untouched and will remain so unless Karl Schiller severely limits even politically important ventures – with the exception of transport improvements.

So, if increased revenue is required it will be impossible to avoid increasing either value-added tax or consumer taxes, such as those on tobacco and brandy – or a combination of the two kinds of tax.

But this will depend upon whether the economic situation makes such increases possible.

With regard to the economic s… it should be pointed out that no … a better position than Professor Sc… to see where the possibilities for … limitations of a fiscal policy conduciv… stability lie.

But the only conclusion we can … to at the moment on this score is … neither the nature nor the extent of … increases for the 1972 Bonn budg… predictable yet. The problem will, h… ever, have to be thrashed out by … September at the latest, when the Ca… – as planned – makes its decisions … draft for the 1972 budget and … 1971-1975 financial plans. Perhaps … that time Economic Affairs cum Fi… Minister Schiller will have carved … name for himself in the eyes … government colleagues...

One more point to remember is … Alex Möller did not quit the Fi… Ministry because of the foreseeable fi… cial difficulties of the 1972 budget.

The real problem lies far more … middle-term planning up till 1975 … claims that have been made in conn… with this. If, during *preparation* … financial plan, sixty to ninety … Marks "are missing" *on paper* this … much in itself.

Things only become really diffi… when the claims that have been made … no longer be adjusted to fit reali… revenue expectations. It was on this … that Möller saw dark clouds and it is … up to Schiller to show that there … silver lining.

Hans-Ulrich Spre…

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 18 May 19…

BUSINESS

Chemicals industry today faces home-made crisis

Professor Carl Wurster, the Chairman of BASF's supervisory committee, took a clairvoyant look at the future in November last year and said: "In almost fifty years of professional life the number of difficult years I have experienced has outweighed the number of not-so-difficult years. That is the way it has always been, especially from the economic point of view and that is presumably the way it will always be."

His prognosis was right enough. News *from* the chemicals industry reads rather like the book of Job. One frightful report follows another.

From Hoechst (Frankfurt) we hear: "These are the realities of the chemicals industry today – unpleasant, unpredictable, unbalanced."

Profits before tax at the Hoechst dyeworks last year dropped by 37.6 per cent. Bayer (Leverkusen) reported a drop in profits of 36.3 per cent and BASF from Ludwigshafen profits went down by 29.3 per cent.

BASF even sold half of its chemical fibres subsidiary Phrix to Gelsenberg Aktiengesellschaft after closing down large sections of Phrix earlier on. AKZO from the Netherlands was more *modest*. Its after-tax profits were "only" 22 per cent down!

But its West German subsidiary Enka Glanzstoff cut back its dividend rigorously from twenty to thirteen per cent.

However, while major European concerns were mustering all their strength so that they could pay the same dividends in 1970 as in the year before the world's largest *chemicals* concern, DuPont de Nemours in America announced a cutback in profits in the first quarter of 1971 from 1.93 dollars per share to 1.50 dollars.

In the Federal Republic, however, it was the taxman who had to bear the brunt of falling profits in the main. As a result of their poorer trading figures for last year the chemicals companies cost the State 628 million Marks in lost taxes.

How could it have come about that the showpiece industry in the Federal Republic's economy, chemicals, the industry that was flat out for growth, could have got into such a mess that leading figures in the industry are fearing for dividends for the current year for the first time since the War?

Managers of chemicals companies put the blame on rising overheads, particularly the explosive increases in wage bills which have reached a previously undreamt-of level of twenty per cent.

The second factor which they blame is the revaluation of the Mark in 1969, which the chemicals industry could not, they claim, cope with. But these are problems that other industrial branches of the economy have had to cope with.

Hoechst dyeworks let the cat out of the bag. An analysis was held of the development of the profits per share which had dropped from 31.15 to 19.45 and it was found that the effects of increased wages were by no means the major single factor in the lowered profits even though they had taken a toll with a minus of 8.88 Marks.

The greatest stumbling block was in the development with regard to prices which had put pressure on profits to the tune of 9.11 Marks. In addition to this there came the drop in profits of subsidiary companies which helped to cut back the profits per share by 0.29 Marks.

When the improvement to productivity as a result of rationalisation measures is balanced against the increase in personnel costs it can be seen that these improvements, worth about 10.26 Marks were quite enough to neutralise the explosive increases in wages and salaries.

Nevertheless there has been no let-up in the drop in yield in the present situation. The chemicals industry has manoeuvred itself into a position of overproduction and has sought to escape from this by cutting prices. Last year the cutback in prices was considerable.

There are two mass-produced products that are gnawing at the profits of chemicals companies at the moment, namely chemical fibres and mass-produced plastics.

But not all companies are in the same boat where these products are concerned. AKZO in The Netherlands holds 47 per cent of the market and undoubtedly has the biggest share in turnover in chemical fibres. Nevertheless in comparison with Bayer and Hoechst whose fibres section comprises less than twenty per cent of their total output AKZO has escaped from the fray with a few cuts and bruises.

AKZO which has a subsidiary company, Enka Glanzstoff, based in Wuppertal, has assessed the state of the market better than its competitors.

The bulk of its production is in polyester yarn, whereas Hoechst for example has given much more importance to its production of polyester fibres which are not so profitable.

There are two factors that have caused the catastrophic situation in the production of synthetic fibres. Firstly misjudging the market. Dr Hermann Zwick, the head of the fibres sales department at Hoechst said: "Last year the textile industry did not fulfil the high hopes that seemed justified as a result of the high growth rates in previous years."

DIE ZEIT

Secondly there was the factor that capacities for production were increased far beyond the level justified by demand.

Between 1960 and 1968 production capacities for chemical fibres in European firms increased by 542 per cent, in the United States by 318 per cent and in Japan by four hundred per cent.

Thus prices for polyester fibre last year went down by forty per cent in some cases. Vestan, for example, dropped from five Marks per kilogram to three Marks. It was only in the early months of this year that it was possible to push the price up again by ten per cent to 3 Marks 30 Pfennigs per kilo. Even that was not enough to help the chemical-fibre production plants out of the red.

Another problem is the size of the new plants. Ten or twelve years ago it would have been possible to make a profit from a factory with an annual output of six thousand tons. Today for a plant to be viable its annual output must be 40,000 tons in the case of yarn and 60,000 tons for fibres.

The consequence is that when a new factory goes into production there is a substantially greater supply on the market in a relatively short time. At best demand can only be expected to follow supply at a steady rate and not progress in leaps and bounds.

At the end of last year factories were on average running at about eighty per cent of their production capacity. There has not been a change in this figure to date.

Yarn-producing plants are faced with prices that are applying pressure, but which have not yet stopped profits being made. Fibre production is on the other hand running at only about two-third capacity and is a cause of actual losses to the companies.

The picture is not much different in the case of mass-produced plastics. In this sphere, too, production capacities have been created which, at the moment, lower profits to say the least, even if they do not actually put the companies in the red. The boundless optimism that was once expressed and the bright forecasts for the future have ceased to tally with the realities.

Lothar C. Arends, a director of Hoechst, admitted at the end of November last year: "The original rule-of-thumb which said that world consumption of plastics would double every five years no longer applies for the future. We are now reckoning on a threefold increase every ten years."

But these figures cannot hide the fact that originally estimated increases in the use of plastics have had to be halved.

This development is shown up very clearly in the case of PVC. Production capacities in the EEC increased in the five years from 1960 to 1965 by 781,000 tons to 1,265 million tons. In the next five years up to 1970 production capacities of PVC increased by a further 1,117 million tons to 2,382 million.

Prices went in the opposite direction. In 1955 one hundred kilos cost 223 Marks. By 1960 this was down to 166 Marks. In 1965 it had gone down further to 127 Marks. In 1968 the price actually slithered below the hundred-Mark level and it is only in recent months that it has been possible to push it back to 105 Marks for one hundred kilograms.

There is no doubt that expansion in the Federal Republic chemicals industry was based on shares of the market, but ignored the question of viability of companies.

This policy, which was designed to win back markets, lost in the Second World War and the destruction of IG Farben-*industrie Aktiengesellschaft, had to lead* to troubles if several unwanted developments came about.

Willi Hoerkens, acting committee member of Hoechst dyeworks, has enumerated four points which have added up and led to the great chemicals disaster:

* Increasing costs in wage bills and raw materials.
* Revaluation of the Mark in autumn 1969, the effects of which could not be passed on to the customer because the market was too competitive.
* The limits of self-financing in the German chemicals industry which led to capital being raised at high interest rates.
* Cuts in the growth rate of turnover as compared with predictions.

The question that company managers in our chemicals industry must now ask themselves is: Was it right to go all out for expansion in the face of so many indeterminate factors as was the case in the past eighteen years?

Was it right to raise so much capital at such high interest rates? The success of the previous years seemed to suggest they were right. According to Hoechst chief Karl Winnacker the chemicals industry escaped from the slumps of 1963 and 1967 with "nothing more than a black-eye". But now the four danger points are having a cumulative effect that makes chemicals face its first real crisis.

And another reproach levelled at managers in chemicals is that in order to protect their expansion rates they were all too ready to accept pay demands.

Only now when a cut in dividends for the current year seems unavoidable have they decided to take a tougher line.

Professor Hansen, Bayer's boss, said: "We cannot accept any more burdens. Wage increases of more than five per cent and another revaluation of the Mark would break the back of even the strongest workhorse."

Wolfgang Müller-Haeseler

(DIE ZEIT, 21 May 1971)

Room for expansion in women's cosmetics

Frankfurter Rundschau

The cosmetics industry, according to a leading Swiss manufacturer, foresees great possibilities of increasing sales on the Federal Republic cosmetics market in the next few years.

With women consumers in West Germany, especially those in the 25 to 35 age-group in the big cities, earning one thousand Marks per month on average there is a large group where sales could be expanded. But the teenage market forms a sizeable source of income with its demand for cosmetics and de luxe perfumes.

Toilet water, creams, powders, lipstick and all forms of make-up for women form an industrial output with which about 130 manufacturers vie for an annual turnover of 4,300 million Marks.

The industry offers about 12,000 to 15,000 items via chemists, perfume dealers and the cosmetics counters of major stores.

It is interesting to note that most cosmetics sales takes place on Fridays and Saturdays.

With about two thousand new lines being introduced every year there is a complete change in the range of cosmetics every six years, according to the experts. This involves expenditure that the industry considers very high with the average woman keeping only about six preparations in her cosmetics repertoire rather than sixty.

Wage increases of more than fourteen per cent in 1970 and the constantly changing fashions of today are leading the cosmetics industry in the Federal Republic to believe that there are large increases in turnover in store.

The average expenditure per female person is 65 Marks. In Sweden it is already up to 120 Marks and in the United States of America as much as 190 Marks.

Only 35 per cent of women between the ages of fourteen and seventy in this country regularly use nail varnish. 8.4 per cent make up their eyes, only 33 per cent use face creams and 49 per cent lipsticks. In fact seven out of every hundred women in the Federal Republic bath only once a month!

No wonder that manufacturers are foretelling an expansion of the market for women. Men are a different story. There are 95 lines for men on sale and few of them are received with great acclaim.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 April 1971)

Soap powders to 'come clean'

Interior Ministry officials are considering introducing legislation forcing washing-powder manufacturers to state the quantities of phosphates used in their products on the packets, following the demands to this effect made by people concerned with protection of the environment.

As State Secretary Doorn of the Ministry of the Interior in Bonn said, this measure affecting detergents and cleaning materials could if necessary be implemented by means of legislation, but it would also be possible to achieve the same end on a voluntary basis following negotiations with the industry.

In Herr Doorn's opinion the ruling would only be of any great use if it applies to all the constituents of the product, which would have to be stated on the packet.

(Handelsblatt, 7 May 1971)



■ AUTOMOBILES

Battery-run Opel sets up speed record

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

Roughly 100,000 spectators were at Hockenheim racetrack recently to see the second qualifying race for the motor-cycle world championships.

It was hot, noisy and smelt of racing fuel, the mixture that saw Italian ace Agostini, or Agonazionale, as they call him at home, through to two wins again.

The following morning, a Monday, the air was a good deal better but it was a long haul through mountains of empty bottles, tin cans and waste paper to witness another event that might be far more epoch-making for the future of motoring than the world championship heats the day before.

Since, however, it was a purely scientific test the burning heaps of garbage hid a mere two dozen spectators from sight. Yet the perfomance they saw included several world records.

The record-breaker may not have been the hottest of hot rods but it is still a world-beater. It was an electric Opel 1900 GT designed by Dr Georg von Opel in collaboration with Bosch, Continental and Varta, manufacturers of electrical components, tyres and batteries respectively.

The aim behind the test was to prove that enormous motoring performances can be achieved even without conventional combustion engines. They were.

On the first day the battery-driven Opel broke four world records, including among its bag of record 115 kilometres an hour over a measured kilometre from a standing start (72 mph) and 188.86 kilometres an hour (118 mph) over a measured kilometre on the track.



(Photo: AP)

Twenty years ago sporting ambition motivated Georg von Opel's construction of a world-record racer. His latest battery-powered GT is intended to aid development in automobile construction.

The battery-powered model is slightly heavier than the conventional 1900 GT. It is not only a matter of the batteries in the back but also of an additional fan motor to cool the electric propulsion unit and an electric vacuum pump to work the servo brakes.

The extra weight overall is 290 kilogrammes (638lb) but the weight distribution (690kg in front and 840kg at the rear) is little short of ideal.

Suspension had, of course, to be strengthened since the batteries alone weigh 570 kilogrammes (1254lb). No fewer than 280 standard nickel-cadmium aero batteries with a power of 360 volts and a life-span of five hours were needed to set up the world records.

The power is used by twin mechanically coupled Bosch DC motors that will yet, it is hoped, reach a speed of 240 kilometres an hour (150 mph). They generate roughly 120 DIN horse power.

The first day's electric racing at Hockenheim failed to produce the desired 150 miles an hour but the way in which the trial vehicle set up its records noiselessly and without emitting the all-powerful smell that dominates racetracks all over the world was nothing if not impressive.

Various domestic manufacturers have already made great strides in environmental protection by developing electric-powered buses for urban routes.

Hockenheim went a step futher inproving that speed is not a matter of petrol. Admittedly the batteries needed weigh too much to make electric racing a practical proposition but research on this aspect of the problem is pressing ahead both in this country and abroad.

Electric power is entirely unsuitable for motor racing fans, though, says Herr Klenk, press officer with Continental. "It makes no noise and doesn't smell," he noted.

Heinz Wibel

(STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG, 19 May 1971)

Pop cars are safer, ADAC maintains

Pop-coloured cars as prefe… young people may well bec… rule rather than the exception. A… Munich, the country's largest … organisation, has developed psy… cally-based safety colour schem… cannot be described as other th…

An ideal combination, ADAC … is a white front end with a large … red spot on the bonnet, brillia… sides and a bright red rear end … as a contrast colour.

The latest in research results … indicate that one safety colo… enough. Colour is most effecti… stands out from its surround… landscape colours change the … ought to be two- or multi-tone.

Trial runs using two Volks… beetles coloured accordingly a… standard vehicles for compa… poses prove that even in dense … other motorists keep a greater … from gaily-coloured cars than fo… of-the-mill tones.

ADAC accordingly recommend… torists who would like to drive … to jazz up their car's colou… Older vehicles that could do … respray present no problem.

On the autobahn pop beetles … distinguished at a far greater … than cars sprayed in one safety colo… drivers also feel safer.

If a respray is too expensive … can be done with contact foil … coated in this way can continue … good service for many years.

Buyers of new cars ought no… hesitate to buy safety colouring. T… particularly easy in the case of G… RS models as they usually hav… black bonnets and grilles.

The colours to go for are … orange and pillar-box red.

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 23 Apri…

Electric cars will be in service by 1980

The spectacular success achieved by an electric-powered sports car at Hockenheim is a long way from justifying optimistic claims that electric cars are past their teething troubles. The following article, written by an engineer, Professor Euler, indicates that it nonetheless stands a fair chance of being in use in urban traffic by the end of this decade.

Congestion is becoming a growing problem in city traffic. It is less the slow speed than the resulting atmospheric pollution and noise that are the problem.

Roughly twenty million tons of fuel are used a year in the Federal Republic. The residue pollutes the air we breathe and a hundred or more decibels at busy traffic junctions are nothing unusual.

Small wonder that town-dwellers are seeking refuge in green belts with inadequate infra-structures. The upshot is that they then cannot do without a car, not to mention a second one for the wife, and the problem grows worse rather than better.

This is why most governments have set their sights on congestion for some time. Since 1966 America, France and Japan have ploughed considerable amounts of money into the development of exhaust-free motor vehicles, the idea being to give the industry an incentive to develop them.

Electric-powered cars saw the light of day in North America more than three quarters of a century ago. At the turn of the century at least 20,000 battery-powered cars were on the roads.

From 1900 on battery-driven buses and taxis were built in this country too and as recently as 1954 a fair number of electric delivery vans were still supplied to department stores, dairies, laundries and hospitals.

But they were too slow, too expensive to buy and road tax legislation was weighted heavily against them. Nowadays electric cars can travel at speeds of between forty and fifty miles an hour and accelerate at a rate of a metre and a half which a great deal of engineering and design ingenuity is being spent, not to mention considerable sums of hard cash. It must be remembered that the motor we now associate with the word motor car is designed principally for swift and sporting inter-city travel on roads specially built for the purpose.

Yet most of the time a car spends on the roads is on commuter jaunts of between ten and a hundre kilometres a day. Most delivery vans cover a mere fifty (often only thirty) kilometres a day too, usually in town, at speeds of fifty kilometres an hour at most and stopping and going at regular intervals.

Even if records may be set up today's battery-powered car is not an autobahn speedster either. Tests have shown, though, that battery-powered vans are faster than conventionally-powered vans in Hamburg city traffic. And there are still thousands of electric milk-floats and greengrocers' vans in daily use in England.

The first battery-run bus is now operating on normal town routes in Koblenz. It per second. They have a range of at least thirty miles too.

The batteries need less servicing and last far longer. Modern management and assembly methods make it possible to manufacture small runs of a vehicle at a reasonable price.

Last but not least the powers that be are at long last beginning to think not only in terms of the amount of money they can raise in taxation but also of the health of the tax-payers.

Electric cars are on show at every motor show. They are usually minis, as ugly as sin and with little in the way of prospects. Often enough the claimed price and speed are quite unrealistic.

In addition to projects of this kind, though, there are serious projects on is a joint development by MAN, the commercial vehicle manufacturers, Bosch, the electrical component firm, Rheinisch-Westfälisches-Elektrizitätswerk and Varta, the battery manufacturers.

Last February Bölkow, a member of the Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm aerospace consortium, unveiled a delivery van developed in conjunction with … Bosch, RWE and Varta. It is, incide… the first self-supporting synthetic … ever to be designed specially for batt… power.

The commercial vehicles are all po… ed by the latest in lead batteries, … are likely for some time to come to … the field. Other batteries have unde… trials but have yet to get over … teething troubles.

Basically there are only two types … battery that stand a chance of ousting … conventional lead battery (which is … cidentally, continually slimming in … and size).

They are fuel cells and metal-… teries. Serious research is being co… into both and both have moved … the development stage but both … such grave problems that the first … tion or two of electric town … bound to be powered by lead batte…

This, of course, limits their … Swift changes of battery in a … minutes are possible but the spare … is then needed and costs money.

In collaboration with Bosch and … Mercedes have accordingly devel… hybrid omnibus that is battery-… town but uses a diesel engine … suburbs, the diesel engine recharg… batteries.

It cannot as yet be said which … will prove the more successful but … ever happens battery-powered vehicles … exhaust-free and quiet. They thus … well be the only motor vehicles all… into city centres of the future.

(Handelsblatt, 18 May 1…

■ WOMAN'S WORLD

Women meet in Gummersbach to discuss 'the woman question'

Women who attend a convention at Gummersbach to discuss the antiquated image that their sex has, have come up with a diagnosis. What married men are as yet unaware of is the cure. The disease could be named "the woman question".

Lore Breuer who headed the convention dealt with the question of careers for married women. Her speech was concerned *with the social-political theme of the* emancipation of women. A third of the invitations were sent out to men. The result was that the forty women who attended the convention found no support or point of common interest shown by representatives from the opposite sex.

Many who attended agreed that the theme applied not only to fathers of families but also to businessmen, administrative executives and politicians. For example, in 1969 there were in the Federal Republic 28.9 million men and 31.8 million women, of whom 15.2 million were married. A third of the working population is female, 9.6 million and of this number more than half of them, 64.2 per cent, were married working women.

Of the married women who worked a third were engaged in a profession of some kind. 2.4 million mothers, every fourth among the professional women, had one child under 15. As many as 98 per cent of the women who gave up career and financial independence were between the ages of 18 and 30. Most of them gave all up except being a housewife after the birth of their first child.

At the Gummersbach convention the well known demands for women following a career were reiterated. The convention demanded measures that would enable women to re-commence their careers after three years after the birth of each child, or at the most six years.

These demands are:

*Improvement of the social infrastructure and the establishment of better or more cribs and kindergartens, schools open all day and school canteens.

*Improved possibilitities for part-time work.

*Establishment of sliding scale working hours.

*Further education for professional people.

*An improved network of information *and contact centres.*

Ulla Galm did much to make the convention provocative. She said: "I would like to make two proposals for splitting the working day in the future. The utopian one formulated by American Ashley Montague in 1953 and the one already practised, communal living among young people. The Montague proposal lays down that every unmarried person should work only eight hours a day and every married person should work only four, thus bringing about full equlity between men and women."

In the communal living centres for the young everyone has a job and must one day a week do the home chores. If five couples live together in this way eight persons can, turn and turnabouts, be at work while two remain at home to do the house work and look after the children.

The basic idea that came out of these discussions was that the division of labour between career and family must be reorganised as it effects man and wife.

The day is fast approaching when the working day is shortened on the one hand and, on the other, sliding working hours are introduced. It follows that in the not too distant future, then, parents would work say, one of them from seven in the morning until two in the afternoon, and then the other partner from two until nine at night. The advantages for society, the economy, parents and children, are, according to Ulla Galm:

*An answer to a society brought up without the due care and attention of the father, equality of work within the home and outside, facilities for further career training.

*For the man release from the eternal burden of being the breadwinner and it would allow him more time with the children.

*For the woman fewer demands and a sharing of burdens, freedom from the routine of housework, economic independence and facilities for career training.

*The child would have two parents and would be released from the close mother ties.

Men who supposedly prefer to laugh rather than go along with female emancipation risk more than isolation from the family.

Karin von Behr

(DIE WELT, 18 May 1971)

Women adviser

Hannelore Winter, 39, a housewife from Düsseldorf earning 40,000 Marks annually, will be sitting next to Hermann Josef Abs, 69, and Ernst von Siemens, 68, advising the heads of the Deutsche Bank.

She is the first female stockholder to be elected to the supervisory committee in the Bank's 101 years of existence.

She was elected not only because she asked "most penetrating questions" at the last general meeting last year in Frankfurt, but also because 25 per cent of *the share capital and a third of all current* accounts opened in the Bank are held by women.

(WELT am SONNTAG, 16 May 1971)

Fathers of illegitimate children unite

When 44-year-old interior decorator Wolfgang Rittich for the third time in a year was told that the allowance he had to make for his illegitimate child had been increased he decided to do something about it. With four like-thinking friends they decided over a beer at the bar of a Nuremberg pub to form an association that would look after the rights of fathers of illegitmate children.

They sought out sympathisers and a couple of weeks later registered the Federal Association for Fathers of Illegitimate Children.

That all happened on 23 January 1968. Now the association has 7,000 members each paying thirty Marks annually with a supplement of ten Marks. Thirty per cent of the membership is female.

These women are concerned indirectly because their husbands have fathered illegitimate children.

But Wolfgang Rittich claims that he has many more sympathisers than just the membership of his association. He said: "There are in this country 1,100,000 fathers of illegitimate children, 800,000 of them are married men. It it is assumed that there are two children in each of these families it follows that more than four million people are affected by the new laws concerning maintenance of illegitimate children."

Wolfgang Rittich continued: "We intend to pay, of course, but not to the detriment of our families. Previously the illegitimate child was the step-child of society, now it is the child born in marriage who suffers."

Fathers of illegitimate children have been much angered by the terms of the new law dealing with maintenance for illegitimate children which comes into force on 1 July 1971. By the new law maintenance has been increased. Although the fathers have no rights as regards their children born out of wedlock they are forced to pay maintenance each month at the following rates:

*For a child until he or she is six 108 Marks.

*For children from six to twelve 132 Marks.

*For children aged from twelve to eighteen 156 Marks.

A further clause allows juvenile care officers to increase these basic payments as much as seventy per cent depending on the father's earnings.

The father's association has produced some agonising examples of payments that would have to be made.

Case number one: A father who earns 1,400 Marks a month must fork out 234 Marks for his 14-year-old illegitimate child, without any consideration of the fact that he already has two legitimate children to provide for.

Case number two: A Munich worker earning 900 Marks a month, father of two children born within wedlock, must pay 192 Marks for the child he fathered out of wedlock despite the fact that his earnings only just about allow him to provide for his legitimate children.

"Coddling illegitimate children by the lawmakers," according to Hans-Jürgen Grossmann, head of the Hamburg branch of the fathers' association, "is a success for the morally deceitful attitudes common in our Amazon-dominated State."

Officials of the fathers' association claim that they have achieved some success with government and lawmakers in presenting their case for the rights of the legitimate child and the legitimate family.

Wolfgang Rittich sees a ray of hope for better consideration in a recent ruling of the Bavarian Justice Minister who has laid down that when fathers of illegitimate children have to pay an increase in the maintenance for their illegitimate children they will not have to pay the ten to twenty Marks that have always been charged in the past.

However, the Federal Ministry of Justice has not yet made it possible for fathers of illegitimate children to have these children taken into consideration along with their legitimate children in their tax assessments. Wolfgang Rittich comments: "This has not been considered yet, allegedly because the time is not yet ripe for it."

The fathers' association pins most of its hopes on a plea that is being made in the near future to the Constitutional Court in Karlsruhe. But Ekkehard Schumann, law professor from Regensburg, has drawn up a paper examining the proposal that illegitimate children should have the same rights and considerations as legitimate children and comments, "that would be too much of a good thing."

Until a ruling comes from the Karlsruhe court on their demands Wolfgang Rittich and his colleagues are devoting their energies to combatting the claims of a neighbouring association, the association of unmarried mothers. *Martin Virchow*

(WELT am SONNTAG, 16 May 1971)

Mathilde Karl

(Photo: Samm...

Woman head CID in Muni...

The head of Munich West's ... police does not wear a uni... had no small arms training, ... hoven and has issued instruc... flowers are to be placed on the d... head of the criminal police has ... rank, but she is a woman.

For the first time in the his... Munich's police a woman has bee... head of a department, an appoi... that has until now been considered ... domain.

Mathilde Karl refused *to be* ... graphed for the press as is usual on ... occasions with a mirror, lipstick i... hand and her hair done in a sporty ... Her official photographs show her ... austere mother-type.

Mathilde Karl, 55 and unmarr... policewoman far removed from ... la Emma Peel. She does not dri... sportscar, but comes to the offic... public transport. She does not ... pistol in her handbag, nor does she ... a luxury appartment. She has an old ... flat. But she has studied judo, altho... she is not so perfect a practioner as Em... Peel. She said: "Nevertheless I could ... man out easily."

Mathilde Karl has served with ... police since 1946, her last appointm... being head of the youth prote... department. She was trained for ... studying how children and youth ... best be understood.

Now she will be busy understan... thieves, deceivers and criminals in ge...

She is well aware that men are consi... ed more capable of decision making ... women, but she said: "Women are ... more thorough and exact than me... go into details more than men do."

Speaking of her hobbies Mathilde ... said that she liked classical music, B... hoven most of all followed closel... Mozart and Bach. She also liked lis... to jazz and spirituals. She does not ... pre-prepared food but prefers ... home-grown foods from her garden ... she spends her weekends.

Thirty hardened police officers ... under her. The men have already ... after her first day on the job ... different tone at work now prevails."

And another female has now joined ... department. So as not to feel too ... alone surrounded by men Mathilde ... has asked if a police woman could ... included on her staff. The request ... granted. Now thirty men and two wo... track down criminals in Munich West.

Kilian Gassner

(DIE ZEIT, 7 May 19...)

SPORT

Female soccer players move from strength to strength

DIE WELT

Eve has won. Hot pants are now worn with football boots. For years women were prohibited by rules and regulations from officially playing football. For the last few weeks women's football has now had the blessing of the Football Association (DFB).

1-0 for the ladies but most men feel that they were off-side, as it were, and they are far from happy about the idea.

Football is considered to be a sport for men, a sport that sorts out the men from the boys. It always has been. And the men took good care to ensure that a tough competitive discipline was not relegated to the level of harmless entertainment.

No one minded women having a go for a joke but the men were certainly not thinking in terms of full emancipation for women in football boots.

In a sport to which men claimed the sole right serious activity by the "weaker sex" could hardly be viewed as anything other than a humiliation for the men.

Were they to allow a serious sport for he-men to be made a laughing-stock of by women? Many men who felt football to be strictly their preserve promptly responded with prejudice worthy of their Wilhelminian forebears.

Football, they claimed, did not suit women. Homerian laughter always having proved *a first-rate weapon* in the battle of the sexes the stock in trade of hoary jokes was fielded against the powerful football urge of the weaker sex.

Aphrodite on the football pitch? Most men take a dim view of the idea. Even in England, the home of football, the fan who takes his football seriously has little patience with the idea of shapely shins, calves and thighs taking pot shots at the ball. Yet England's women footballers have already reached a level of proficiency that is not to be sneezed at.

For all to see a continuous process of anthropological reorientation in which women are being granted greater freedom is in progress.

Yet in official women's sporting circles the *Ganzheitsmethode* and visions of a harmonious personality still reign supreme. In sport women are no further than their grandmothers were, the apple of a man's eye and a graceful guardian of house and home.

No matter how much women may enjoy their football the men's line of argument is inexorable. They are not prepared to countenance an inroad by women into a typically male sphere of activity.

Whether the sight of women chasing after a football is an aesthetic one or not is neither here nor there. What matters is that it is the men who decide what women are to be allowed to do.

"Woman's image," says Konrad Paschen, professor of physical education at Hamburg, "is made by men, and there can be no doubt that a man is not necessarily going to be all too keen on the idea of seeing the woman he loves disporting about the football field."

The inertia that characterises the historical development of sport for women is chronic, and it is largely because man is defending a domain that he can pretty well claim as his own by virtue of more powerful muscles.

Men's records, unattainable by women, are felt by many to be proof positive of the fact that women's sport is second-rate.

Despite the progress that has been achieved women's sport on an organised basis is still hidebound when it comes to gaining fresh ground from the men. The Judo Association is a case in point.

Until the beginning of last year women were only allowed to practise judo standing up. The reason given was the same old story. Judo on the mat was both unhealthy and unaesthetic for women.

Wiebke Miebach, women's officer of the Judo Association, was not happy with this state of affairs. "You might as well ban women from clearing more than five metres in the long jump," she says.

"Gymnastics for Girls", published in 1885, does indeed comment that "Free jumping for girls is something to be practised with care. It is ample for the girls to learn how to clear fifty centimetres in the high-jump and it is equally inadvisable to allow them to clear more than a metre twenty in the long-jump".

Wiebke Miebach won her struggle. Since 1970 women judokas have officially been allowed to fight it out on the mat. "The men accept us now", she says. "They will have realised that it is no longer enough just to say that the sight of women engaging in a particular sporting discipline is unaesthetic."

As a social phenomen sport nowadays has a role to fill that could hardly have been anticipated and just as society is changing rapidly and subject to strain and stress so is organised sport – and many of the old-timers, tried, trusted and still in office, are no longer in touch.

Sport for women is doubtless top of the list of topics the old-timers fail to grasp. The hoary clichés of times long since past are still very much in evidence.

The most serious misunderstanding is to presume that women are not interested in competitive sport but merely in graceful movement, a doctrine that condemns women to a sporting life of gymnastics and dancing.

The truth is that today more than ever competition and contest are the principal characteristics of sport and physical training for both sexes.

On 15 May women in this country entered for 300 and 400 metres hurdles events for the first time ever (at a meeting held by Bonn Sports Club). The races were intended as a trial and competitors filled in questionnaires for Cologne Sports Academy. Their answers are to be evaluated so as to come to a decision as to whether the distances are suitable as a new discipline for women.

This test is unquestionably a decisive step on the road to allowing women to *have a say in their own development in* sport.

Last year the number of women members of sports clubs and associations affiliated to the Federal Republic Sports League (DSB) increased twice as fast as the number of men, by 9.8 as opposed to 4.9 per cent.

At club and association level, though, women are allowed little say in the running of affairs. The women's sport committee of the DSB aims to gain equality.

"Women," says Annemarie Griesinger, deputy chairman of the committee, "are to blow fresh wind in the sails of club officialdom. Men are going to have to think again."

In football in particular they are finding it hard to do so. The aesthetic angle may be irrelevant but what about the health hazard, many rearguard fighters still ask.

In Czechoslovakia, where football suffragettes were tolerated at a far earlier stage than, for instance, in this country, it was decided to get to the bottom of the problem.

Nearly a hundred doctors spent roughly three years examining sporting disciplines such as football and ice hockey that are supposed to represent a danger to women's health. The conclusion they reached was nothing if not surprising.

Football and even ice hockey were found to be sports decidedly suitable for women and certainly not a jot more dangerous than typical women's team games such as volleyball, hockey, basketball and handball.

The Czechs even went a step further and pointed out that football and ice hockey were among the most popular sporting disciplines in the country and had to be taught at schools.

The teaching profession, they continued, is unquestionably a woman's domain, and a games mistress who has no idea about football can hardly be expected to do particularly well in the range of sporting activities she covers.

Football and ice hockey have since been obligatory subjects for women students at departments of physical education at all Czech universities and training colleges.

Forty per cent of the students at *Prague University of Physical Education*, where full-time games masters and mistresses are trained, are women and they too have to do football theory and practice, just like the men.

The demure gymnastics activities of women at the turn of the century are understandable in the light of the view of the female sex then current. They no longer apply.

One must admit that in continuous comparison women's football does not come off quite so well as the established variety but then again, *vive la différence!*

Gerhard Seehase

(DIE WELT, 15 May 1971)



Female soccer players in action (Photo: Otto Rollar)

Kiel sailing Olympics to be filmed for general showing

The sailing events of the Munich 1972 Olympics being held in Kiel are being filmed so as to reach as large an audience as possible. It is planned to film all the events and show the film publicly free of charge in Kiel City Centre.

Copies of the film+will also be sent to Munich where the main events of the olympics will take place.

(DIE WELT, 5 May 1971)

DDR to send only 2,000 visitors to Munich Olympics

The East Berlin authorities are only allowing 2,000 spectators to visit the Munich Olympics next year.

In March this year the organising committe of the Olympics issued a statement to the effect that the GDR had not taken up its total allocation of seats.

Visitors from the GDR will be accommodated at Kiefersfelden and Oberaudorf both near Munich.

(DIE WELT, 18 May 1971)

Adan	SA $ 0.05	Colombia	col. $ 1.—	Formosa	NT £ 5.—	Indonesia	Rp. 15.—	Malawi	11 d	Paraguay	G. 15.—	Sudan	PT 5.—
Afghanistan	Af 10.—	Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—	France	FF 0.60	Iran	Rl 10.—	Malaysia	M. $ 0.40	Peru	S. 3.50	Syria	£ S 0.50
Algeria	DA 0.60	Congo (Kinshasa)	Makuta 7.—	Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—	Iraq	50 fils	Mali	FM 60.—	Philippines	P. phil 0.60	Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Angola	Esc. 1.—	Costa Rica	C 0.85	Gambia	11 d	Ireland	11 d	Mexico	$ 1.50	Poland	Zl. 0.50	Thailand	B 3.—
Argentina	$ m n 45.—	Cuba	P 0.13	Germany	DM 1.—	Israel	I £ 0.40	Morocco	DM —.65	Portugal	Esc. 1.—	Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Australia	10 c.	Cyprus	11 d	Ghana	cedi 0.12	Italy	Lir. 80	Mozambique	Esc. 1.—	Rhodesia	11 d	Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Austria	S 3.—	Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.50	Great Britain	11 d	Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—	Nepal	Mohur 1.—	Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—	Turkey	T £ 1.25
Belgium	bfr 6 —	Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—	Greece	Dr 4.—	Jamaica	11 d	Netherlands	Hfl 0.50	Rumania	Leu 0.50	Tunisia	65 M
Bolivia	$ b 1.50	Denmark	dkr 0.90	Guatemala	Q 0.15	Japan	Yen 50	Netherlands Antilles	G. ant 0.25	Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60	Uganda	EAs 0.25
Brazil	N. Cr. $ 0.35	Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.15	Guayana	BWI $ 0.20	Jordan	50 fils	New Zealand	9 c.	Sweden	skr 0.60	UAR	PT 5.—
Bulgaria	Lev 0.05	Ecuador	S 2.50	Guinea	F.G. 30.—	Kenya	EAs 0.25	Nicaragua	C 0.85	Switzerland	FS 0.50	Uruguay	P 20.—
Burma	K 0.60	El Salvador	C 0.30	Haiti	G 0.65	Kuwait	60 fils	Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—	Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—	USA	£ 0.20
Burundi	F. Bu. 10.—	Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30	Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20	Laos	Kip 60.—	Nigeria	11 d	Sierra Leone	Le 0.10	USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Cambodia	R 4.40	Fiji	11 d	Honduras	L 0.25	Lebanon	P 40.—	Norway	nkr 0.90	Somalia	Sh So 0.90	Venezuela	B 0.60
Cameroon	F.C.F.A. 30.—	Finland	fmk 0.50	Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70	Liberia	Lib $ 0.15	Pakistan	Rs 0.60	South Africa	Rand 0.10	Yugoslavia	Din. 1.—
Canada	Can. $ —.20			Hungary	Ft 1.—	Libya	50 Mills	Panama	B. 0.15	South Korea	Won 35.—	Zambia	11 d
Ceylon	cR —.60			Iceland	Kr 5.—	Luxembourg	lfr 6			S. Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—		
Chile	Esc. 0.60			India	Rs 0.80	Madagascar	FM 30.—			Spain	Pts 6.—		